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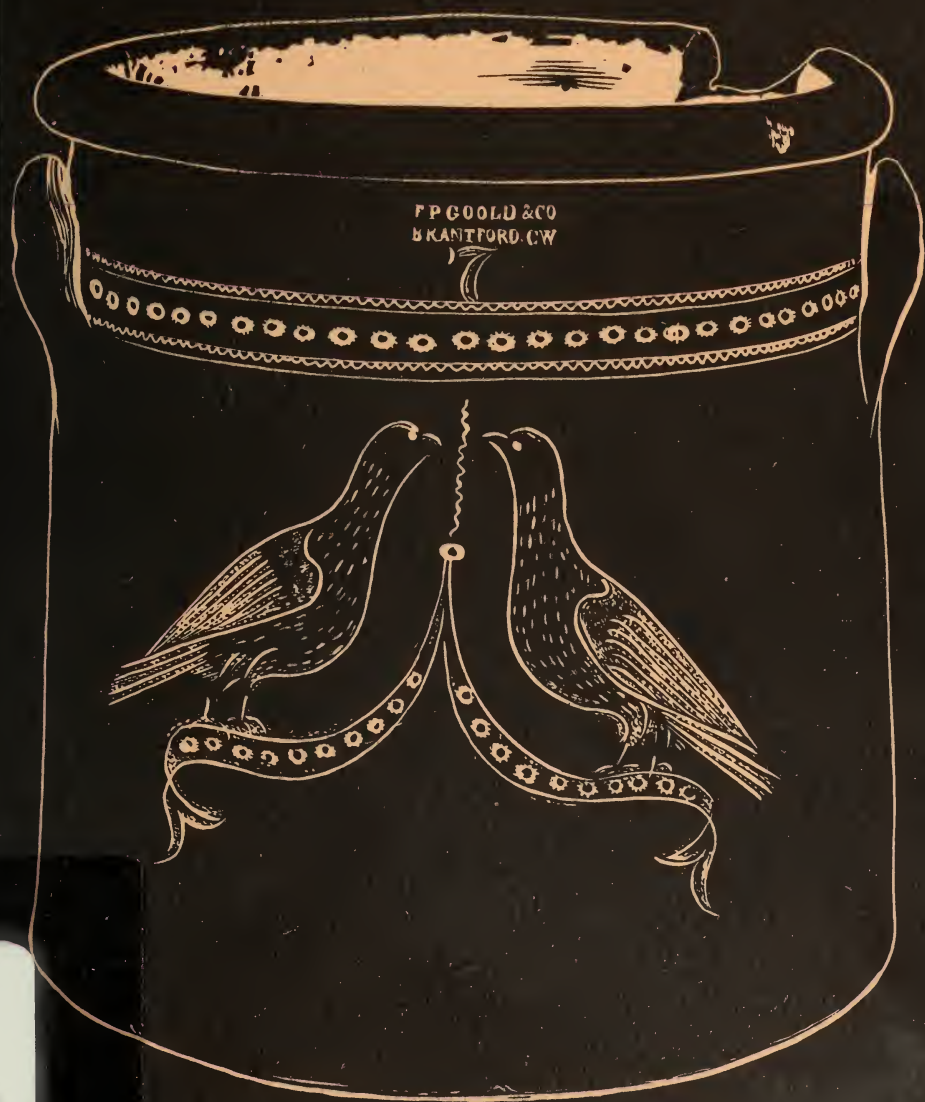
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D. B. WEBSTER


# *The Brantford Pottery*

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*Occasional Paper 13*

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

D. B. WEBSTER *The Brantford Pottery*  
*1849-1907*

*History and assessment of the stoneware  
pottery at Brantford, Ontario, including  
results of excavations and analysis of  
products*

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# *Contents*

*Acknowledgements*, 4

*Introduction*, 5

I *History of the Pottery*, 7

Illustrations, 1-10, 17

II *Excavations*, 22

Illustrations, 11-25, 28

III *Excavation Recoveries*, 41

Illustrations, 26-64, 47

IV *Assessments and Recapitulation*, 69

V *The Pottery After 1883*, 71

*Bibliography*, 72

Illustrations, 65-78, 74

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D.B.W.

# Introduction

The Brantford stoneware pottery at Brantford, Ontario, one of the two earliest manufacturers of stoneware in Canada West,<sup>1</sup> was established in 1849 by Justus Morton of Lyons, New York. Through seven proprietors and partnerships and totally destructive fires in 1872 and 1883, the pottery operated almost continuously from 1849 until 1907. In terms of production and annual gross income, it was the largest pottery in Canada throughout its existence, and enjoyed without serious competition the whole of rapidly-growing southern and south-western Ontario as its marketing area.

Until about 1875 the Brantford pottery produced only items of basic container stoneware, salt-glazed or brown slip-coated, in a great variety of jars, jugs, crocks, churns, bottles, and pots.

Stoneware as a hard and durable pottery was developed in China well before A.D. 1000, and was being traded to Europe, via Arab caravans, by late Medieval times. German potters were producing stoneware by the thirteenth century. Rather than copying Chinese coloured glazes, the Germans developed, perhaps after accidental discovery, a technique of salt-glazing whereby common salt, vaporized in the extreme heat of the pottery-firing kiln, combined chemically with silica in the body of the pottery to form a transparent sodium silicate glaze. Produced later in England, for several centuries salt-glazed stoneware remained the most satisfactory known ceramic material, until in the late eighteenth century it was replaced for finer wares by semi-china clays.

Prior to this investigation, only the proprietor-marked, salt-glazed container wares, as well as a later but undatable range of moulded yellow, green, and blue glazed wares (often marked BRANTFORD/CANADA), had been assignable to Brantford.

From the archaeological aspect of this study we have been able to define a large and new range of middle period (1873-83) yellow and Rockingham-glazed wares. None of these could previously be attributed to Brantford because of an absence of markings. On the other hand, the absence of the BRANTFORD/CANADA marked wares from the excavations has clearly shown that these pieces are later than 1883, the date of the second fire.

Thus we now know that after about 1875 the Brantford firm, under the proprietorship of William E. Welding, began production of a full range of stoneware press-moulded and slip-cast household wares, from bowls to teapots, from pitchers to spittoons. Glazes were largely brown slip, yellow or Rockingham (mottled brown over base yellow). Salt-glazed containers continued to be the pottery's basic product, but the manufacture of moulded household pottery had become competitively essential. Yellow- and Rockingham-glazed stonewares had become extremely popular in the United

<sup>1</sup>David & Patricia Taylor, *The Hart Pottery, Canada West* (Picton, Ont., Picton Gazette Publishing Co., 1966), p. 3. The Hart pottery, established in January, 1849, also has a solid claim.

States, and by the 1870's were being produced in vast quantities by potteries in Vermont, New York, New Jersey and Ohio. Welding, proprietor/manager of the Brantford Pottery from 1867 to 1894, was most certainly aware of popular styles and trends, and had the apparent foresight and business acumen to meet this competition before it became a threat.<sup>2</sup>

The Brantford industry, because of its huge marketing area and the great variety of its products, was not only the largest pottery-manufacturing operation in Canada but also one of the most important and best-known—the equal in Canada perhaps of the famous Norton and Fenton potteries at Bennington, Vermont. Much of the Brantford pottery's growth and importance was certainly due to its proprietors' ready acceptance of newly developed manufacturing techniques, and the early use of mass-productive machinery, all at a time when the few other stoneware producers in Ontario, and dozens of earthenware potters, depended entirely on hand labour and traditional pottery-forming methods. The Brantford pottery was a factory in the modern sense, based on capital equipment, and not a craft shop. In fact, it was one herald in Ontario of the demise of commercial enterprise based on traditional craft and hand-labour systems, and certainly of pottery as a product of individual craftsmen. The Brantford Pottery was one of the earlier members in Canada of a new order, the technological revolution which was introducing, slowly but steadily, a vast cultural change.

<sup>2</sup>Warner, Beers & Co., *The History of the County of Brant, Ontario* . . . (Toronto, Warner, Beers & Co., 1883), p. 296, 543.

# I *History of the Brantford Pottery*

Justus Morton had emigrated from Lyons, New York, in 1848, evidently with the full intention and sufficient capital to establish a stoneware pottery factory at Brantford. Since he was a trained potter, Morton had undoubtedly worked at the Nathan Clark pottery at Lyons, one of the two subsidiaries (from about 1825) of the Clark pottery at Athens, N.Y., on the Hudson River. The Clark pottery (1805–1892) was one of the longest-lived of any nineteenth century stoneware producer, and from the end effect of the migrations of its ex-apprentices and employees, men like Morton, was one of the most influential pottery complexes in North America.<sup>1</sup>

Early in 1849, Morton established a small factory at the corner of Dalhousie and Clarence Streets in Brantford and began production in the Clark manner of common salt-glazed container stoneware. He had not initially bought the lots (31 and 32) which his pottery occupied, but apparently had a leasehold. The first factory was a wooden building, perhaps existing prior to Morton's coming but certainly improved and adapted by him.<sup>2</sup> He also built a brick kiln for firing and salt-glazing stoneware.

In common with all stoneware producers, Morton's special problem was his clay. To fuse properly and produce the characteristic hard and impermeable pottery, stoneware requires a quite special clay with a high kaolin and silica content. In Morton's time stoneware clay was not mined anywhere in Canada; even today exploitable deposits are known only in southern Alberta and in Nova Scotia. The limited occurrence of proper clay restricted the location of nineteenth century stoneware potteries to sites close to navigable waterways.

Virtually every stoneware producer used clay from Morgan's Bank at Amboy, New Jersey, or from Long Island, shipped by sloop or canal barge. The Clark pottery at Lyons, N.Y., for example, brought clay up the Hudson, and west via the Erie Canal. Morton used the same source (in fact New Jersey clay was used throughout the pottery's existence) and the same route, bringing clay by barge to Buffalo on the Erie Canal.<sup>3</sup> From there it was transported to Brantford on Lake Erie and the Grand River, probably by the Grand River Navigation Company, which operated paddle steamers and barges between Buffalo and Brantford after 1849.<sup>4</sup>

There is little doubt that Morton's pottery was an initial success. By the early 1850s the pottery employed about six men, producing pottery to a gross valuation of about \$8,000 a year.<sup>5</sup> The first known listing appears in *The Canada Directory* for 1851:

Morton & Co., stoneware factory and pottery, Dalhousie St.—This is the only stoneware factory in C.W., and every article will be warranted equal to any made in North America, and be supplied upon as good terms.

All of Morton's production was container stoneware, salt-glazed outside, and lined with a wash of brown slip clay. Virtually all stoneware potters



of the period marked their pieces just below the rims, using a hand stamp of printers' type set in a wooden block. Morton's marking through 1856, though it varied in type size and style, was MORTON & CO/BRANTFORD, C.W., in two lines. Like most such markings, Morton's stamping, pressed into the wet clay of freshly-turned pottery, was coloured with blue cobalt-oxide glaze, the same glaze as was used for painting flower and other decorations on the body of the pottery.<sup>7</sup>

On July 23, 1853, Morton bought the pottery site, with improvements, for £ 125 from O. and P. Robinson. The sale was witnessed by "Wm. E. Welding, Pedler."<sup>8</sup> Welding, who was later to operate the pottery for so many years, had come to Brantford in 1841, and in the early 1850s was employed by Morton as a pottery salesman.<sup>9</sup>

About 1856, Morton entered into a business partnership, without change in property ownership, with A. B. Bennett who had been and probably still was a partner in the Goold and Bennett foundry, stove manufacturers.<sup>10</sup> Pottery made under the partnership was marked MORTON & BENNETT/BRANTFORD, C.W.

The Morton and Bennett partnership was dissolved some time in 1857, and Morton evidently leased the pottery complex to James Woodyatt, who used the firm name and pottery marking JAMES WOODYATT & CO. In 1858 Woodyatt was described as manufacturing stoneware, fire brick, and draining tile. Shackleton mentions that the pottery was awarded two prizes at the Canada West exhibition of 1857, one for the best specimen of pottery, the other for the best assortment.<sup>11</sup>

Woodyatt gave up the pottery and his lease in 1859 to become the first town clerk of Brantford,<sup>12</sup> and Morton again took over, now apparently in partnership with Franklin P. Goold (of the Goold & Bennett foundry). This partnership is established only by a single known piece, a salt-glazed churn in a private collection, marked MORTON, GOOLD & CO./BRANTFORD, c.w. (fig. 2) and in any event was short-lived.

On August 20, 1859, Justus and Elizabeth Morton sold the pottery to Franklin P. Goold and Charles H. Waterous for \$2,250.<sup>13</sup> Waterous was probably a financial backer, and had been connected with Goold previously in another enterprise, the Waterous Engine Works Co., manufacturing machinery.<sup>14</sup>

Franklin P. Goold was born in New Hampshire in 1813, and came to Brantford about 1840. Previous to buying the pottery he had been a partner in the Goold and Bennett foundry, and in the Waterous company, and even had an interest in early oil refining.<sup>15</sup> A general entrepreneur, Goold was not a potter, and had no experience in the stoneware pottery business.

By now, however, there is little doubt that William E. Welding, as well as pottery salesman, was *de facto* works manager. While no more a working potter than Goold, Welding was thoroughly versed in the business.

Under Goold's proprietorship, the pottery continued making only basic salt-glazed container wares. In 1864 he won first prize at the Canada West exhibition for an assortment of stoneware, and in 1865 a prize for the best ceramic water filterer.<sup>16</sup> Through 1865 the pottery used the marking

F. P. GOOLD & CO. / BRANTFORD, C.W., and after 1865 both that and, particularly on heavier pieces, BRANTFORD STONEWARE WORKS.

No stoneware pottery was ever more than minimally profitable, and financial troubles may have necessitated Morton's several partnerships during his later period. Certainly Goold had his problems. In 1867 the Bank of British North America foreclosed on a mortgage that Goold had taken out some time previously. Apparently the amount of the mortgage was satisfied from stock on hand and working capital, for James C. Geddes, as trustee for the bank, then conveyed back to Goold the land and premises.

On October 29, 1867, Goold sold the pottery to William Erastus Welding, by then general manager of the pottery, and William Wallace Belding, for \$3,200.<sup>17</sup>

In spite of financial problems, the pottery was by now one of Brantford's largest industries, and very much a solidly productive organization. A report made in 1865<sup>18</sup> resulted in one of the best contemporary descriptions of a nineteenth century pottery operation in Ontario:

On our recent visit to Brantford, we embraced the opportunity of going through the pottery at that place, where Mr. Welding, the enterprising agent and manager, was good enough to facilitate our inspection of the works. . . .

At the Brantford pottery we beheld in busy operation the celebrated potter's wheel, almost exactly as it was in Egypt before the birth of Moses; and the dexterous hands of the workman, forming out of a rude lump of clay vessels of various shapes and uses, with a rapidity and ease really wonderful.

This establishment has been in successful operation, and doing a steadily increasing business for the last fifteen years. It employs some fifteen hands, and the annual value of its products, as we were informed, is about \$25,000, which are in good demand throughout Upper and Lower Canada. In firing the ware, there are here two kilns, one 14 feet by 11, and 7 feet in height; the other circular, 11 feet diameter and 9 feet in height. To heat these kilns and fire the ware the best pine wood is used, and the process occupies about forty-eight hours—the larger kiln consuming fifteen cords of wood, and the smaller one nine, the yearly consumption being 500 cords. The clay used comes from New Jersey, and produces a fine, light-coloured, strong ware for culinary and other purposes, to which, in form and substance, it is admirably adapted.

In the commonest articles there is not wanting a certain chasteness and symmetry of form; while in some, especially pitchers, jugs &c., are observable many of those elements of beautiful form presented in the antique models. And here we venture to repeat, that the growing taste of the people, created by looking on so many beautiful objects everywhere to be met with, should admonish manufacturers of whatever articles, even the commonest for every-day use, that something more than mere utility is required by the humbler, as well as the higher classes of society. If this be not attended to, they will have no right, and it will avail them nothing, to complain that home industry is not patronized.

As in all potteries of any pretensions, a designer is here engaged for the purpose of giving form to the new articles constantly required to satisfy the demands of the market. Upon the whole we have never seen better ware of the kind, and we have pleasure in adding that there is no poisonous



substance entering into the composition of the glaze. For this purpose a kind of clay is used, which is fusible at the heat required to fire the ware.

The skill of the workman in this place may be judged by the fact of our being shewn vessels of all sorts of shapes and capacities, from the well-formed stone bottle which would hold but one drop, to the barrel of 35 gallons.

The partnership of Welding & Belding continued producing the same varied forms of container stoneware that had been made before, but may have begun utilising somewhat more modern equipment.

Somewhere during this period, too, though just when cannot be determined, there came a shift in the manner of transporting the raw stoneware clay from New Jersey, from the old and traditional canal and lake route to far faster and only little more expensive shipment by railroad. The New York Central Railroad had been in full operation from New York City to Buffalo by the late 1840s, and on Friday, January 13, 1854, the Buffalo and Brantford railway opened, completing all the necessary connections.<sup>19</sup>

On December 1, 1872, at about three o'clock in the morning, the pottery and all of its outbuildings burned completely, including the total destruction of some \$9,000 of pottery in stock at the time, and all tools and equipment. The company records and billings, in an iron safe, were saved. The precise cause of the fire was never established.<sup>20</sup>

### **The Pottery Burned**

On Sunday morning last at about 3 o'clock, the pottery, belonging to Messrs. Welding & Belding, was discovered to be on fire. When first seen the main building was enveloped in flames and before the Fire Brigade reached the scene—owing to the imperfect manner in which the alarm was given—it had collapsed. The Waterworks were as usual prompt in supplying water in abundance, but from some cause—doubtless one that could not be foreseen—the Brigade did not get their streams turned on with their usual alacrity. The flames which had, therefore, been allowed to pursue their course so long unchecked, spread to the adjoining tenement, the wood yard and wood sheds, which contained some 600 cords of dry pine. The sheds and tenement were soon consumed and but a portion of the wood in the yard was rescued by the efforts of the firemen from the devouring element. In an hour or two the pottery and its surrounding buildings were but a smouldering ruins, little else remaining than the two great uncouth kilns to mark the spot where the works had stood.

There was a large quantity of stone-ware in the building—nearly \$9,000 worth—at the time, which met the fate of all carelessly handled “potters’ vessels”. The whole was buried in the ruins. All the apparatus, etc., used in the works, were, it is needless to say, also swallowed up. The total loss is estimated at \$10,000. The building and its contents were insured for \$7,000, as follows: \$4,000 in the Hartford, and \$3,000 in the Gore Mutual. The direct loss to the firm will, therefore, be about \$3,000. The safe, which was in the north-western corner of the main building, was dragged out as soon as the heat would allow men to approach near enough to grapple with it. Its contents gave evidence of having “gone through the fire”, but were sufficiently well preserved to be good for all practical purposes.

How the fire originated baffles the minds of the proprietors. While using a

number of stoves of various descriptions and situated in different parts of the building, they had always been most particular in observing that they were shut up before the works closed for the night. They think it very improbable—if not impossible—that the building caught from the stoves referred to, and the flames had attained to such headway before they were detected that it is impossible to locate their starting point. It is not supposed that it was the work of an incendiary, but it is conjectured that some one of the loafers in town that day may have crept into one of the wood sheds for shelter, and in lighting his pipe, or by some other means, may have ignited the pottery. No one was, however, seen in its vicinity who could be suspected, and all else is conjecture.

We understand the firm will re-build again as soon as possible.

The factory destroyed, Welding and Belding dissolved their partnership on December 18, 1872. For the sum of \$1.00 Welding sold the property to William Belding, subject to two outstanding mortgages totalling \$2,500.<sup>21</sup> In March, 1873, Welding then re-purchased the actual pottery site from his ex-partner for \$1,000. It is evident that a part of the agreement under which the partnership was dissolved was the paying-off, by William Belding, of the earlier \$1,500 mortgage.<sup>22</sup>

Welding, now sole proprietor, began to rebuild almost immediately. The partnership had still occupied the original wooden building; it was essentially Morton's original pottery that burned. The new building, however, was built of brick. Construction began in late March and must have proceeded rapidly. On August 15, 1873, a small item in the *Brantford Expositor* heralded the opening of the new pottery, and confirmed the railroad transportation of clay.<sup>23</sup>

**POTTERS' CLAY**—The first cargo of stoneware clay for Mr. Welding's new pottery is being unloaded at his pottery here. It employed 17 cars in transportation, being, we believe, the largest cargo ever delivered at the works. Mr. Welding expects to be manufacturing in a few days.

The new factory, with a near monopoly of the western Ontario market for stoneware, continued to grow in volume and variety of production. The primary products were still salt-glazed, brown slip-lined containers, most now stamped, under Welding's sole proprietorship, W. E. WELDING / Brantford, Ont. During the 1870s, however, Welding began to diversify into somewhat finer household stoneware of the type that was becoming increasingly popular in the United States.

Welding was an astute businessman, but the diversification was largely forced by increasing competition from imported housewares, particularly moulded rather than wheel-turned articles with the mottled tortoise-shell brown glaze known as Rockingham. While most heavy salt-glazed containers were hand-formed on a potter's wheel, the Rockingham-glazed housewares were either pressed from flat sheets of rolled clay, or slip-cast, formed by semi-liquid clay poured into a plaster mould.

The mottled brown Rockingham glaze was originally developed at the pottery of the Marquis of Rockingham at Swinton, England. By 1835 Rockingham pottery was in production in the U.S., and by the 1850s came to be universally manufactured from New England to Ohio.<sup>24</sup>

In 1875 the Brantford pottery, certainly equipped with some moulding machinery, and perhaps already producing Rockingham-glazed wares, was described as follows:<sup>25</sup>

The fire in December, 1872, brought the works to an abrupt termination, and the new factory was built and is owned by Mr. W. E. Welding alone. The present building is situated on the site of the old one, at the corner of Clarence and Dalhousie Streets, adjacent to the Great Western Railway. It is a fine two-storey white brick building arranged in the best possible shape for the requirements of the business, and having all the improvements and appliances which a long experience would suggest. From 500 to 600 tons of clay are used each year, requiring the services of eleven men, who turn out \$35,000 worth of goods annually.

Though Welding diversified his production in terms of variety of items offered, by 1883 about 75 per cent of the factory's output was still salt-glazed container wares, with perhaps 25 per cent in Rockingham and yellow-glazed housewares. That the pottery continued to prosper there is no doubt; by 1883 it had fifteen employees turning out a gross annual production of probably \$45,000–50,000.

A description of 1883 mentions that:

There are four departments in the factory, viz: one for preparing the clay, the the turning room, the moulding room, and the burning department. Fifteen men are employed, and the most extensive pottery business of Canada is carried on here. The ware produced is of a superior quality, and finds ready sale in the market at the highest figures.<sup>26</sup>

In July, 1883, the pottery for a second time was destroyed by a fire starting, as in 1872, early in the morning. The pottery building and outbuildings were again totally lost, including even stored cordwood and clay, and of course all stock on hand:<sup>27</sup>

## **FURIOUS FLAMES**

**Mr. W. E. Welding's Stoneware works completely destroyed.**

**The Origin of the Fire remains a conjecture.**

**Inadequate Fire Alarm and Defective Hose.**

On Sunday morning, Dec. 1st, 1872, the Pottery, as it was then called, and owned by Messrs. Welding and Belding, was destroyed by fire, which originated in a back shed, but from what cause was never known. On May 1st, 1873, the new building was begun by Mr. W. E. Welding, and the business, pushed with the energy characteristic of the proprietor began to increase until now it had become a source of pride and wealth to him. The works were among the largest in the country, tons upon tons of the finest clay were stored upon the grounds, nearly 600 cords of pine wood, about half of which was split ready for the oven, were stacked in the yards, while within the building in various stages of manufacture was a large stock of ware, including a kiln full, which was being burned.

Friday morning about five o'clock flames were seen issuing from the clay shed in rear of the works, and an attempt at alarm was made, but it was

nearly six o'clock before the old bell in the city clock tower was set ringing, and then only those in the near vicinity heard its feeble tones, many of the firemen knowing nothing of the fire until they were going to their work at seven o'clock, two hours after the fire had broken out. By this time, although those present were working like heroes, the fire had extended to the whole building, enveloped the huge pile of pine wood which crackled and hissed in demoniacal glee, the stifling black clouds of smoke had given place to soft, creamy banks which rolled gracefully towards heaven, black masses of ruins began to be visible where but a few hours before stood the neat and extensive premises. Six streams of water were thrown upon the flames, but the war of the elements was one-sided, the fire had obtained the mastery of the situation; the hose which by neglect had become rotten, was bursting at every point, and seriously impeded the efforts of the firemen, who laboured on and on, many of them without breakfast until after ten o'clock when a few fresh men were forthcoming. Mr. Hemphill, the bookkeeper, upon the first alarm, hurried down to the works and removed all the books and papers from the vault with the hot flames about him.

The buildings, with the exception of the kiln, in which there is about \$800 or \$900 worth of stock, are completely destroyed, the large stock of clay probably all destroyed, and 500 or 600 cords of wood consumed.

The loss will aggregate in the vicinity of \$10,000 which is probably fully insured as follows: in the Royal Canadian Insurance Company \$4,000; Hartford Insurance Co., \$5,800.

Mr. Welding will immediately rebuild upon a more extensive plan.

As a slight compensation for the manner in which the firemen wrought, he kindly gave Chief McCann a cheque for \$50, not so much for what they saved, as for what they tried to save.

Rubble was cleared and levelled and Welding began construction of a new and larger brick building, on the same site, almost immediately. To fill outstanding orders during the construction period, he brought in pottery stocks from two other stoneware potteries:<sup>28</sup>

### **Brantford Stoneware Works**

#### **After the Fire**

Mr. Welding is busily engaged preparing for the re-erection of his stoneware works which will be done immediately, on a considerably larger scale than formerly. The rubbish is being cleared away and brick is being delivered so that operations may be commenced at once. Mr. Welding has also been most expeditious in placing himself in a position to meet the wants of his many customers, who, notwithstanding the recent fire, can have their orders filled as usual. He is now ready to supply them all, having purchased the stock and secured the services of two of the best stoneware potteries in Canada. Those desiring stoneware can thus be supplied from the Brantford works, which in a very short time will have facilities for turning out a larger stock than ever of the well known and appreciated Brantford ware.

The brick building, though probably not totally collapsed, had to be razed. The cellars which, as the excavations later indicated, had almost certainly not been completely cleared after the fire of 1872 or used thereafter, were now filled with even more brick, wood and ashes, as well as the remains of a large pottery inventory which the *Expositor* failed to mention.



The new building, completed in late 1883 or early 1884, was built without cellars except for coal bunkers under the west (Clarence Street) wing, parallel to the railroad tracks. The cellars of the burned building were not cleared, but rather were surfaced with fresh earth overlying all of the fire rubble, which was evidently left undisturbed. The new building thus had its ground floor as the lowest level; somewhat later, after 1914, a concrete floor slab was poured, covering the earth fill.<sup>29</sup>

With the third building, the pottery entered a new era in which Rockingham and yellow-glazed house wares became, economically if not numerically, the primary product; salt-glazed containers, now facing a shrinking market in the face of competition from glass and sheet-metal wares, and the growth of prepared foods and canned goods, became secondary. Salt-glazed storage vessels continued to be marked with Welding's stamp. Moulded and slip-cast pottery had previously been unmarked, and probably so continued through the remainder of Welding's proprietorship, to 1894.

In 1894, Welding sold the pottery to Dr. David Lowrey, physician, for \$7,200, subject to an outstanding mortgage of \$4,000 which Lowrey assumed.<sup>30</sup> Lowrey then secured a new mortgage for \$6,000, retiring the earlier debt, and applying the difference of \$2,000 with another \$4,000 of personal funds to the purchase price. John P. Hemphill of Brantford then advanced \$500, and Henry Schuler \$1,000.<sup>31</sup>

On August 11, 1894, the pottery was incorporated as the Brantford Stoneware Manufacturing Company, which issued stock relative to investment to Lowrey, Hemphill, and Schuler.<sup>32</sup> Finally Lowrey conveyed, for \$1.00 subject to the \$6,000 mortgage, his title to land and plant to the new corporation.<sup>33</sup>

Under the new organization, Lowrey became president, Hemphill secretary, and Schuler superintendent and plant manager. Henry Schuler, the only potter among the company officers, had originally come to either the Marlatt or Jacob Ahrens pottery at Paris, Ontario, a few miles from Brantford. In 1869, he and Peter McGlade took over the Marlatt pottery, making both earthenware and stoneware. Schuler's pottery, as was the Ahrens pottery, may well have been washed out in the Paris flood of 1883, and in 1885 Schuler was listed as a potter in Brantford, most certainly as an employee of Welding, and probably later as plant manager.<sup>34</sup>

A souvenir issue of the *Brantford Expositor* in December, 1895, published a photograph of the factory and mentioned that:

Considerable improvements and additions were made to the premises [after incorporation]. Among them might be mentioned an immense new kiln, one of the finest in Ontario and which has now equipped the stoneware works until they can now compete with any firm in the country.<sup>35</sup>

The company's salt-glazed wares, now so unimportant a part of the total production that they were not even mentioned in advertising, were largely undecorated—designs on storage vessels, in cobalt-blue glaze, had nearly disappeared with increasing mechanization. The marking had become BRANTFORD STONEWARE MFG. CO. / BRANTFORD, ONT. OR B.S. CO.

LTD. Moulded and slip-cast articles, unmarked probably throughout Welding's period, were marked BRANTFORD / CANADA on their bases. This marking, however, is not as sharp as an impressed stamping, and is glazed over; obviously the mark, as with decorative patterns, was an integral part of the forming moulds, rather than being separately impressed.

A quarter-centennial special issue of the *Expositor* on December 20, 1902, reproduced the 1895 photograph, and described the pottery at that time.

. . . Another fire occurred in July, 1883, the premises being entirely destroyed. A short time afterwards, or in 1884, the present fine and commodious factory at the corner of Dalhousie and Clarence Streets was built, whose dimensions are 140 × 120 feet—two stories and basement [only coal bunkers]. In the year 1894 the Brantford Stoneware Company was formed and purchased the business from Mr. Welding. The manufactured articles include Rockingham caneware, majolica, stone linings, fire brick of all kinds, wares for chemical and sanitary purposes, etc. About 30 men are given constant employment, and the firm's wares find a ready market in all parts of Canada; in fact, the Company are unable to keep up with their orders. Most of the raw material is secured in New Jersey. . . .

The company continued in business only through 1906. Since no financial information has been discovered, we cannot ascertain what caused or motivated the dissolution of the company, particularly after the apparent prosperity of 1902. Henry Schuler's age combined with increasing competition and declining markets for some products may well have affected a final decision.

In any event, in January, 1907, the plant and land were sold by the company for \$9,000 to Solomon Malener and Abraham Rosenfeld, merchants operating under the name of Brantford Rag and Metal Company.<sup>36</sup> Pottery manufacture came to an end.

The building was gradually but radically changed during the twentieth century, being used first by the rag and metal company, at one point as a blacksmith shop and garage, and finally as an automobile agency and showroom. The land and building were then sold to Firestone Stores, and the building was demolished, including removal of the concrete floor slab, in December, 1966.

<sup>1</sup>D. B. Webster, *American Decorated Stoneware*, (ms. in press, Rutland, Vt., Charles E. Tuttle Co.) ch. 3 & ff.

<sup>2</sup>Warner, Beers, 296, 543.

<sup>3</sup>Webster, ch. 3 & ff.

<sup>4</sup>F. Douglas Reville, *History of the County of Brant* (2 v., Brantford, Ont., Brant Historical Society, 1920), I, 181.

<sup>5</sup>Warner, Beers, 296.

<sup>6</sup>Robert W. S. Mackay, *The Canada Directory, containing the names of the professional and business men of every description, in the cities, towns, and principal villages of Canada* (Montreal, John Lovell, 1851), p. 37.

<sup>7</sup>Webster, ch. 3, 4.

<sup>8</sup>Memorial 170, July 23, 1853, in Brant County Registry Office.

<sup>9</sup>Warner, Beers, 543.

<sup>10</sup>Mackay, *Canada Directory*, 1857–58.  
Reville, I, 122.

- <sup>11</sup>Mackay, *Canada Directory*, 1857-58.
- <sup>12</sup>Philip Shackleton, *Potteries of 19th century Ontario* (Report to Dept. of Northern Affairs & Natural Resources, Historic Sites Branch, Ottawa, 1964)
- <sup>13</sup>Communication from Mrs. C. F. K. Woodyatt, Brantford, Ont.
- <sup>14</sup>Memorial 2299, August 20, 1859, in Brant County Registry Office.
- <sup>15</sup>Reveille, I, 123.
- <sup>16</sup>Warner, Beers, 507.
- <sup>17</sup>Shackleton report.
- <sup>18</sup>Memorial 4321, October 29, 1867, in Brant County Registry Office.
- <sup>19</sup>*Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Upper Canada* (5v., Toronto, 1865), V.
- <sup>20</sup>Reveille, I, 184.
- <sup>21</sup>*Brantford Expositor*, Friday, Dec. 6, 1872.
- <sup>22</sup>Memorial 6623, December 18, 1872, in Brant County Registry Office.
- <sup>23</sup>Memorial 6716, March 8, 1873, in Brant County Registry Office.
- <sup>24</sup>*Brantford Expositor*, August 15, 1873.
- <sup>25</sup>Richard Carter Barret, *Bennington Pottery and Porcelain* (New York, 1958), 18-19.
- <sup>26</sup>Page & Smith, *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Brant, Ontario* . . . (Toronto, Page & Smith, 1875). 13.
- <sup>27</sup>Warner, Beers, 296.
- <sup>28</sup>*Brantford Expositor*, July 27, 1883.
- <sup>29</sup>*Brantford Weekly Expositor*, August 3, 1883.
- <sup>30</sup>A carriage catalogue of 1914 was found slightly imbedded in the surface fill, beneath the removed concrete slab.
- <sup>31</sup>Memorial 21879, June 18, 1894, in Brant County Registry Office.
- <sup>32</sup>Memorial 22114, October 5, 1894, in Brant County Registry Office.
- <sup>33</sup>Letters Patent, under Ontario Joint Stock Companies Letters Patent Act, R.S.O. 1887 Chap. 157.
- <sup>34</sup>Memorial 22114, October 5, 1894.
- <sup>35</sup>Shackleton report.
- <sup>36</sup>*Brantford Expositor*, special issue, December, 1895.
- <sup>37</sup>Memorial 33410, January 26, 1907, in Brant County Registry Office.



Fig. 1 *Blue-decorated salt-glazed five-gallon open crock, marked MORTON & CO. / BRANTFORD, C.W., c. 1849-56. Private collection*

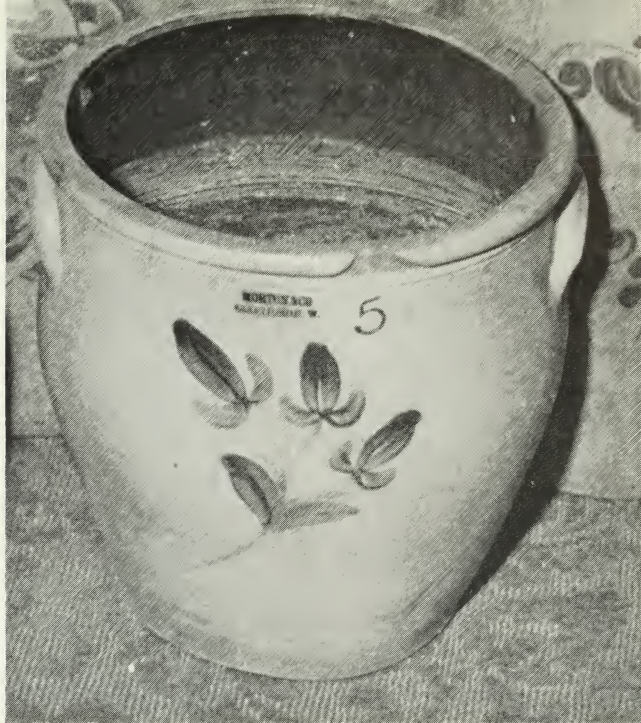


Fig. 2 *Five-gallon salt-glazed churn with floral decoration in blue, marked MORTON, GOOLD & CO. / BRANTFORD, C.W., c. 1859. Private collection*

Fig. 3 Salt-glazed and blue-decorated three-gallon jug, marked F. P. GOOLD / BRANTFORD, C. 1859-67.  
Private collection

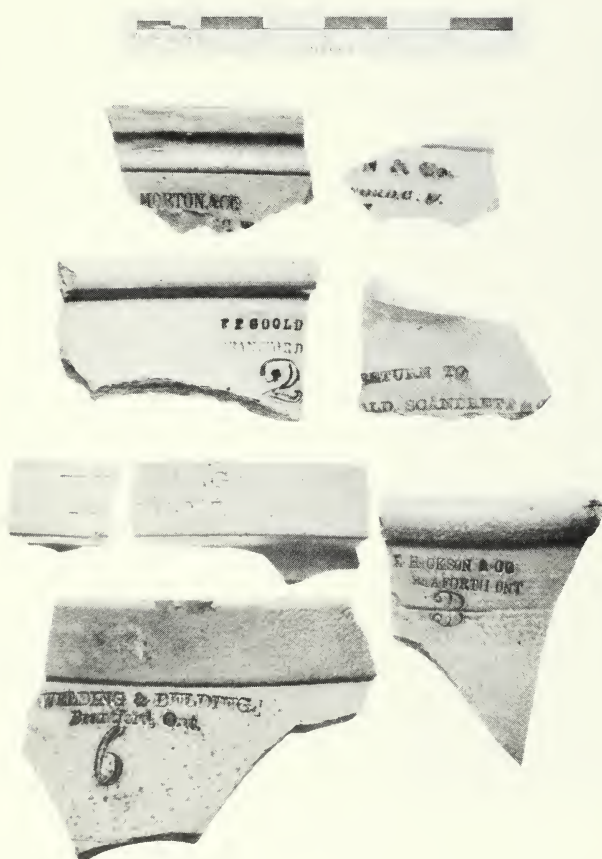
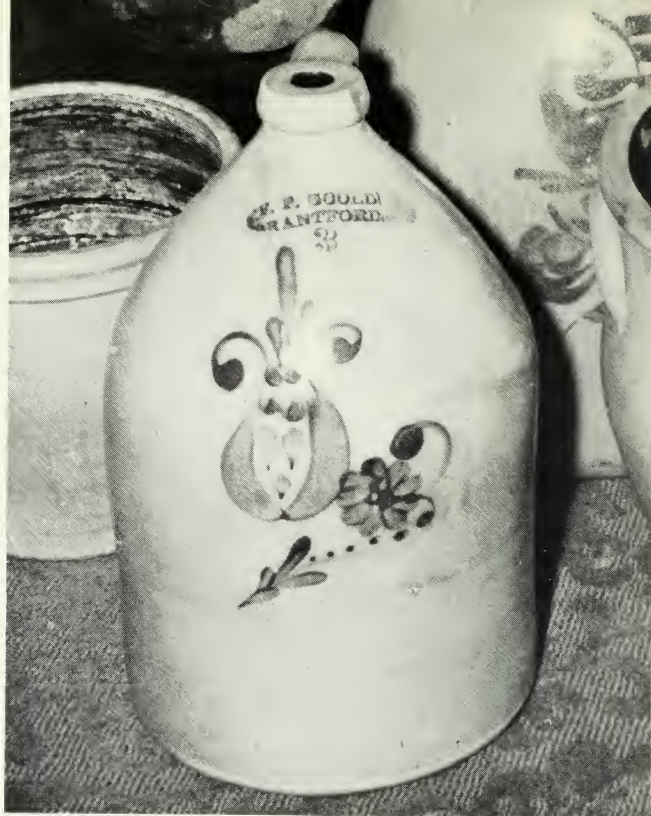


Fig. 4 Representative marked sherds, including two variations of MORTON & CO. (top), and on the left stampings of F. P. GOOLD, W. E. WELDING, and WELDING & BELDING. The two sherds on the right are stamped with individual merchant's markings, commonly applied at the pottery on special order.

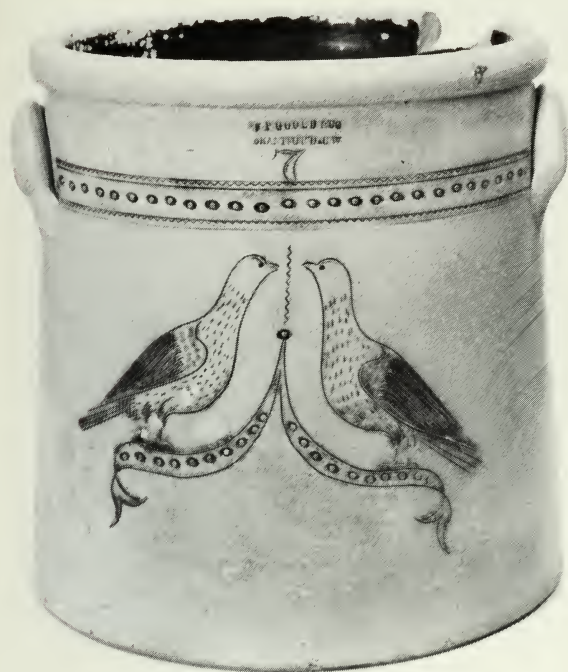


Fig. 5 Seven-gallon crock by F. P. Goold, c. 1859–67. The decoration of two birds was incised in the clay and coloured with blue glaze. Incised rather than painted decorations, a form most common in the 1810–1840 period, from existing examples are known only during Goold's proprietorship. Private collection

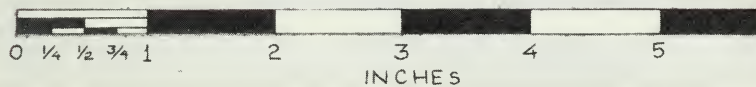
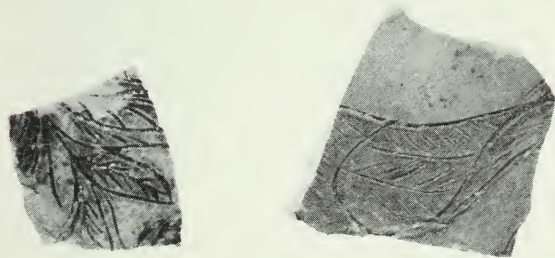


Fig. 6 The recovery of only two isolated incised sherds (Trench 3, Level 3), probably of the Goold period, indicates the very uncommon use of this technique.



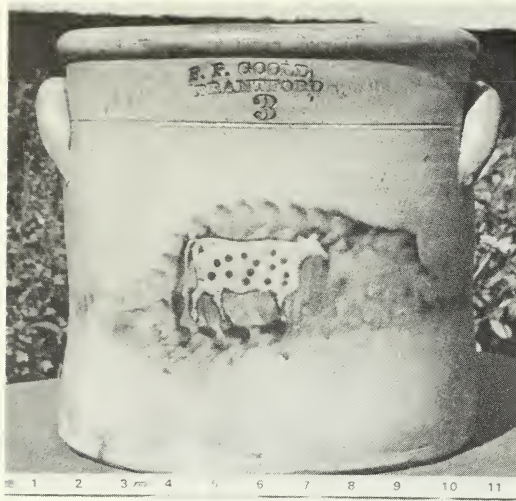


Fig. 7 F. P. Goold, apparently alone among the Brantford Pottery proprietors, occasionally produced glaze-painted designs other than the standard floral motifs. This extremely unusual outline-stencilled decoration of a cow was done over a paper cut-out overlay. The three-gallon crock is marked F. P. GOOLD / BRANTFORD. Private collection

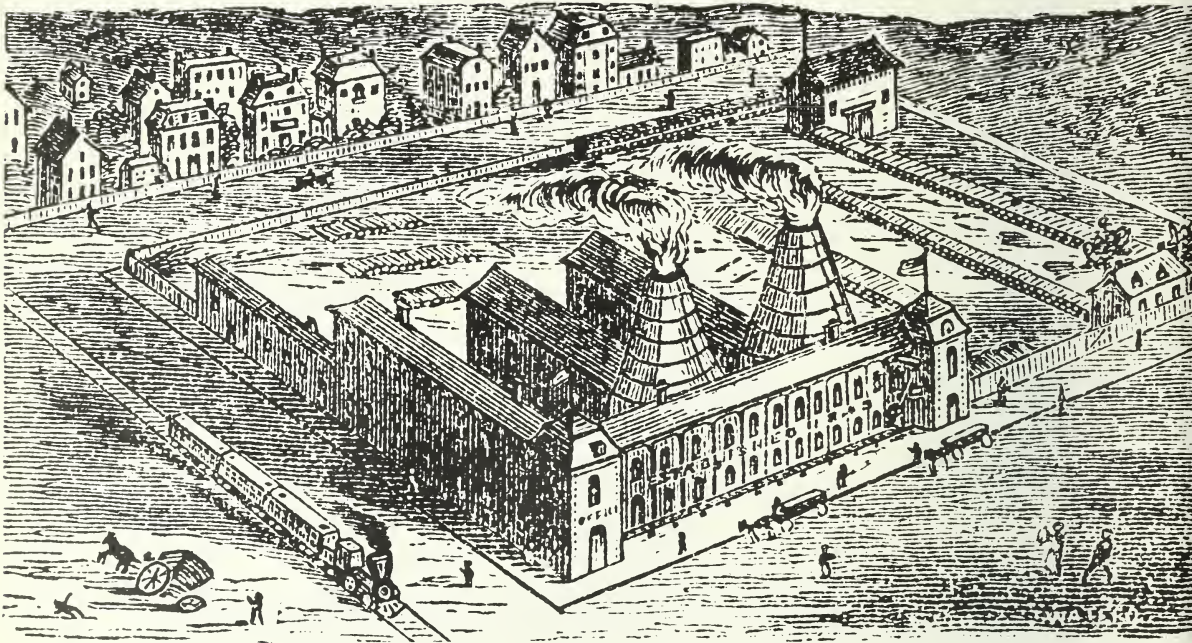


Fig. 8 The only known view of the second pottery building, built in 1873 after the fire of the previous December, and destroyed by fire in July, 1883. The view is to the northeast, with Clarence Street to the left and Dalhousie Street to the right. Engraving from Page and Smith, Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Brant . . . , Toronto, 1875.



Fig. 9 Standard salt-glazed containers, a one-gallon jug and a six-gallon open crock, both marked W. E. WELDING / BRANTFORD, ONT., c. 1875. Private collection

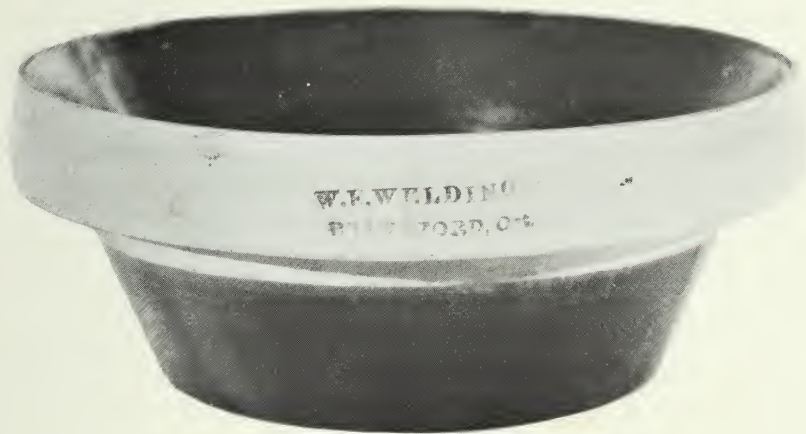


Fig. 10 As well as storage containers, W. E. Welding during the 1870s produced heavy milk or butter bowls such as this, usually marked, and lined with brown slip. Rimsherds of numbers of such bowls were found throughout the excavations (fig. 4, third left).  
 Canadiana, R.O.M.



## II *Excavations*

The site of the Brantford pottery, at the corner of Dalhousie and Clarence Streets, is in a low-lying area in what may be an ancient stream bed. Running approximately north and south, some 50 yards east of the pottery, is a small stream, once with sloping natural banks but presently confined within a concrete-walled channel. The earlier banks have been filled to a present surface  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet above water level.

The pottery site, lot 32 and part of lot 33, is flat and level. At the time of first excavations on December 10 and 11, 1966, the pottery building, built in 1884, and an internal ground-level concrete floor slab had been demolished and removed, leaving the site of  $100 \times 120$  feet as bare earth, surrounded on the north and east sides by asphalt-covered parking lot.

We had been aware of the importance of the pottery for some time, but not of the imminent sale and demolition of the building, nor of the future building plans of Firestone Stores, which had recently purchased the site. Demolition occurred on December 5 and 6; I was advised, absolutely by surprise, by Mrs. William L. McGill in Brantford. Following some considerable telephoning, we secured permission to excavate the site during the short time it would be clear between demolition and Firestone Store's projected building date, set for the earliest possible time the following spring.

This was to be, by necessity, a salvage operation, intended primarily to establish and confirm the types and varieties of pottery produced and approximate periods of production of each, as well as what we could determine of production and firing techniques and mechanics. Caught as we were between the weather and imminent frozen ground, and the Firestone contractor's scheduled construction start the following March, we had to complete the excavation as speedily and efficiently as possible.

Initially we knew little of what to expect, for there had been no opportunity for advance documentary research. Conversely, we were quite familiar with at least the salt-glazed container wares, through numbers of existing marked pieces by all of the various proprietors and partnerships. The primary question was the identification and dating of the range of finer moulded and slip-cast ware, all unmarked and never previously attributable. The building foundations we viewed as only the shell of the productive entity, and of little importance alone; in any event there would be no opportunity to explore them adequately.

I first examined the site on December 8, and with Dr. Walter Kenyon, Associate Archaeologist, R.O.M., and a crew of volunteers, did an initial basic survey on the weekend of December 10 and 11. Weather was a hindrance—sleet, freezing rain, and temperatures of 35 to 40 degrees on Saturday, colder with light snow on Sunday. The ground, however, was not yet frozen.

During these two days we excavated one north-south survey trench with

an intersecting east-west rectangular trench (Trenches 1 and 2), Trench 1 to a depth of three feet, Trench 2 to five feet.

Over the entire site, the surface layer consisted of earth fill 8 to 12 inches deep, mixed with scattered yellow and red brick and some salt-glazed sherds. A second layer, in Trench 2 to a depth of 3'6" to 4 feet, consisted entirely of compacted salt-glazed sherds and production pieces (saggers, wedges, setting tiles, etc.) with brick rubble and occasional pieces of charred wood, all in a mixture of water-borne surface fill earth and/or grey wood ash. A base layer of brown sand began at about four feet.

Since this was simply a weekend survey, no attempt was made to determine stratigraphy, if any. No conclusions were based on Trenches 1 and 2, except that the site was well worth further excavation.

In addition to the preponderance of salt-glazed sherds, we found occasional sherds of Rockingham-glazed wares, all without decorative mouldings, and scattered individual sherds of, apparently, small yellow-glazed bowls with thin white horizontal lines overlying the base glaze. Recovered also were three reconstructable tobacco jars, four unglazed and only semi-fired one-quart jugs, several jar lids ranging from 1½ to three inches in diameter, and two small inkwells. All were unmarked. Only jar lids and inkwells were found intact. Even partially reconstructable larger pieces were very difficult to recover due to the vast quantity, compacted situation, and sameness of salt-glazed material.

During the same weekend two test pits were dug, Pit 1 near the sidewalk paralleling Dalhousie Street, and Pit 2 at the northwest corner of the site, in the area of probable coal bunkers. Recoveries from Test Pit 1 included only production wedges, in quantity, all embedded in the surface earth fill layer. Beneath and mixed with these was brick rubble and earth, with only very occasional salt-glazed sherds. Pit 2 disclosed an unfilled space beneath the surface layer, covered by a collapsed brick wall, and several heavy wooden beams. Recoveries were nil; the unfilled space, 4'6" deep, was empty even of coal; there were no sherds.

By agreement with Firestone Stores the site was to be left as before, so that Trenches 1 and 2 and Test Pits 1 and 2 were closed on December 12. Weather had become too unreliable to plan on digging any later in the month.

During the winter, recoveries from the two-day survey were assessed, initial detailed historical research was completed, and schedules were correlated with Firestone and their general contractor. New building construction was originally scheduled to commence March 1, 1967, but was ultimately delayed to March 20. Weather was less than ideal, and the ground surface at the site was alternately thawing and freezing—frost levels during March varied day by day from nil to one foot in depth.

We commenced further work on March 13. The Mayor of Brantford, Mr. R. B. Beckett, had previously offered the services of a city-owned backhoe and operator, which we accepted. With only two weeks in which to work, a small crew, and ground frost, we decided that excavating major trenches with the backhoe would save so much time as to more than justify the necessary destruction and loss of whatever it removed. Thus on March



13 the backhoe dug for us, to a depth of five to six feet, an 80-foot trench (Trench 3) parallel to Dalhousie Street and approximately underlying the centre of that wing of the 1873–1883 building, and two intersecting trenches (6 and 7) running toward Dalhousie Street.

The backhoe then excavated, parallel to Clarence Street, a second main trench (Trench 10) 40 feet long, digging to the north until it reached a point of absence of sherds. Test Pit 3 at the north and east edge of the site, as expected, had already shown completely negative returns. On March 15 we again requested the backhoe, to open Side-Trenches 4, 5, 8, and 9, at right angles to the Dalhousie Street main trench.

Test Pit 4, hand-dug in frozen ground, was too close to the railroad tracks and underground signal switches for digging by backhoe; this pit was excavated to a depth of two feet only. Pits 4a and b, carefully dug as signpost holes by the building contractors, were five feet deep.

Areas underlying the two wings of the 1873 building contained heavy and compacted concentrations of sherds. In trench walls this concentration was restricted to approximately the southwest quadrant of the site, with sherds diminishing rapidly in Trench 3 between 65 and 70 feet east of the railroad tracks, so that Trenches 7 and 8, and the eastern end of Trench 3, were negative except for brick rubble and production saggers and wedges. In Trench 10 sherd recoveries ceased abruptly after 30 feet of excavation, or 54–55 feet north of the Dalhousie Street sidewalk.

Though different specific pottery types were concentrated in individual areas, the stratigraphy of excavated areas within the approximate outlines of the 1873 building was relatively constant (figs. 19–23). The surface layer, Level 1, in all areas was of fill earth varying from six to twelve inches in depth. This fill was mixed with scattered brick rubble and sherds.

The problems of frozen ground and the necessity of beginning with machine-opened trenches dictated a somewhat unusual manner of determining stratigraphy. Though removal of material in the backhoe trenching was, for our purposes, equivalent to destruction, such trenching did allow us to work in a reasonably orthodox way, which would not have been possible from the surface. First, with minimal cleaning of rubbly and often frozen or muddy trench walls, four layers became visually evident in most areas (figs. 18, 19, 21, 22). Conditions then required cutting 12 to 18 inches back into trench walls directly beneath the topmost layer of surface fill, the limit of ground frost. We were then able to work vertically, troweling down layer by layer, examining and collecting material, and essentially widening the original trenches.

The discomforts of trowel work under overhanging frozen ground, which continually dripped or flowed icy water and mud during the day and occasionally collapsed, were considerable. Facing each morning the problem of surfaces, freshly exposed the previous day, which had frozen overnight was equally excruciating.

Six to 12 inches below the surface fill (Level 1) began concentrated layers of compacted pottery sherds which extended to four feet below surface in all areas and, notably in Trench 10, to five and one-half feet. The upper 12 to 18 inches of this layer, Level 2a, included occasional

pieces, some large, of rotted and charred wood, localized pocket layers of charcoal one to three inches in thickness, and a sufficient mixture of charcoal with water-settled fill earth to create a dark sub-layer.

Level 2b, the pottery level below Level 2a, was unchanged in basic content—compacted pottery and brick rubble with production wedges, saggars, and tiles. In this level, however, pottery was mixed with grey ash of thoroughly burned wood, with little or no charcoal or charred wood.

Given complete historical documentation of the beginning and terminal dates of proprietors and of the fires, we were able to rely on marked salt-glazed sherds (fig. 4) for the dating of layers. Layers 2a and 2b both contained great quantities of W. E. Welding-marked sherds from large containers, establishing these layers as post-1872. Thoroughly mixed as it was with ash, carbon, and fire rubble, the terminal date of this material and of its deposit became obviously the fire of July, 1883.

The lowest layer of rubble and pottery, Level 3, was materially defined by the recovery of quantities of Welding & Belding-marked salt-glazed sherds, and occasional earlier Morton and Goold markings, all pre-1872. Markings of W. E. Welding were absent. The consistency of Level 3 was slightly different from those above, with greater compaction of material, and the mixture of less brick rubble, and greater quantities of wedges, ring saggars and production pieces, with the compacted pottery. From Level 3, as well, only salt-glazed pottery was recovered. There were no Rockingham or yellow-glazed sherds, and from this level all but two of the intact, albeit unmarked, inkwells were recovered. This material had evidently been deposited in the cellar of the original building by the fire of December, 1872.

Below Level 3 in all areas began a base layer of undisturbed brown sand. This sand level was clearly defined in all areas and contained no intrusions. The sand layer had been the floor of the cellar area for the building of 1849. It was probably the original surface on all sections of the site never previously excavated for construction, since Firestone's contractors later encountered it immediately below surface fill or asphalt.

Sherds in all areas were often coated with a film of carbon soot, which could easily be washed or rubbed off. In Levels 2a and 2b, numerous pieces of burned and distorted, and occasionally melted, window glass occurred both freely and firmly adhering to sherds (fig. 23). In Trenches 3, 4, 5 and 6 and Test Pit 4, Layers 2a and 2b, sherds of Rockingham and yellow-glazed wares were often cemented together by melting of glazes, and glaze colours were often distorted, the Rockingham glazes to a dark iridescent hue, the yellow glazes to an olive- or grey-green. In no case was the external glaze of salt-glazed sherds distorted, though the colour of Albany slip lining, used as a wash for internally coating salt-glazed containers and usually brown in colour, was often altered to a dark mustard yellow or light olive green. Pottery itself, all stoneware, was not distorted in any way. Freshly formed pottery, in dry biscuit state, unglazed and semi-fired, was found in considerable quantity. This was originally greenware, fired with some colour distortion in the burning building, but at a temperature insufficient to fuse the raw pottery into hard stoneware.

In December our initial supposition had been that the cellar holes might have been cleared after the fires of 1872 and 1883, with rubble being transported to the pottery dump and at some later date, perhaps 1884, carried back and used as fill. (The pottery dump was probably on the original creek bank east of the site, long since filled over.) This theory, however, had been quickly dispelled during the concentrated excavations in March. It became evident that we were examining neither transported fill nor a picture of production over the pottery's entire span, but rather had a concentrated view of all the forms and varieties of pottery in production and in stock immediately preceding each of the two fires. There was as well, very obviously, a substantial number of earlier Morton and Goold pieces in the building in 1872.

The fire of 1872 burned the first pottery building completely, consuming the wooden frame and dropping all pottery into the cellars. Some of this rubble was very likely subsequently cleared, but there was no evidence of surfacing, partial filling, or direct flooring to indicate that the cellar was ever used again. Rather it seems that the building of 1873 probably had a ground-level wooden floor and the earlier cellar, half-filled with remaining rubble, was left as an air space.

The fire of 1883, in a brick building, first burned out the wooden interior, dropping all stored pottery (much of it certainly on upper floors) on top of the earlier rubble. This was followed by collapse of the roof and some walls. The greater part of the brick and wood rubble was undoubtedly cleared from above the present surface level, for in spite of the quantity of brick mixed with the pottery in Levels 2a and 2b, it was not nearly enough to represent a partially collapsed building. The fire of 1883 was sufficiently hot to distort window glass, melt all but salt glazes, and semi-fire unglazed greenware.

Nothing was recovered from these excavations that postdated 1883. The marking BRANTFORD / CANADA observed on many known later moulded wares was entirely absent, as were sherds of any of the moulded patterns usually bearing this mark. There was no evidence that the later marked green- and blue-glazed wares or other later forms were in production in 1883. These wares are separately covered in section four.

Though all trenches were closed on March 22, two days after excavations had begun for the new Firestone Stores building, during the following month we constantly and closely examined contractors' foundation excavations, all of which were in areas of the site we had not examined. In the contractors' earlier excavations, through the asphalt-covered parking lot to the east, results were entirely negative, and showed only that the brown sand base layer began immediately beneath the asphalt. Small and isolated individual sherds of post-1883 green-glazed wares were occasionally found on the original surface.

At the extreme northeast corner of the asphalted area the contractors unearthed sizable slabs of unknown material, thinly layered and occurring in two colours, a deep leaf green and a light cinnamon red. The initial assumption was that these might be raw glaze oxides, ready for grinding into fine powder.



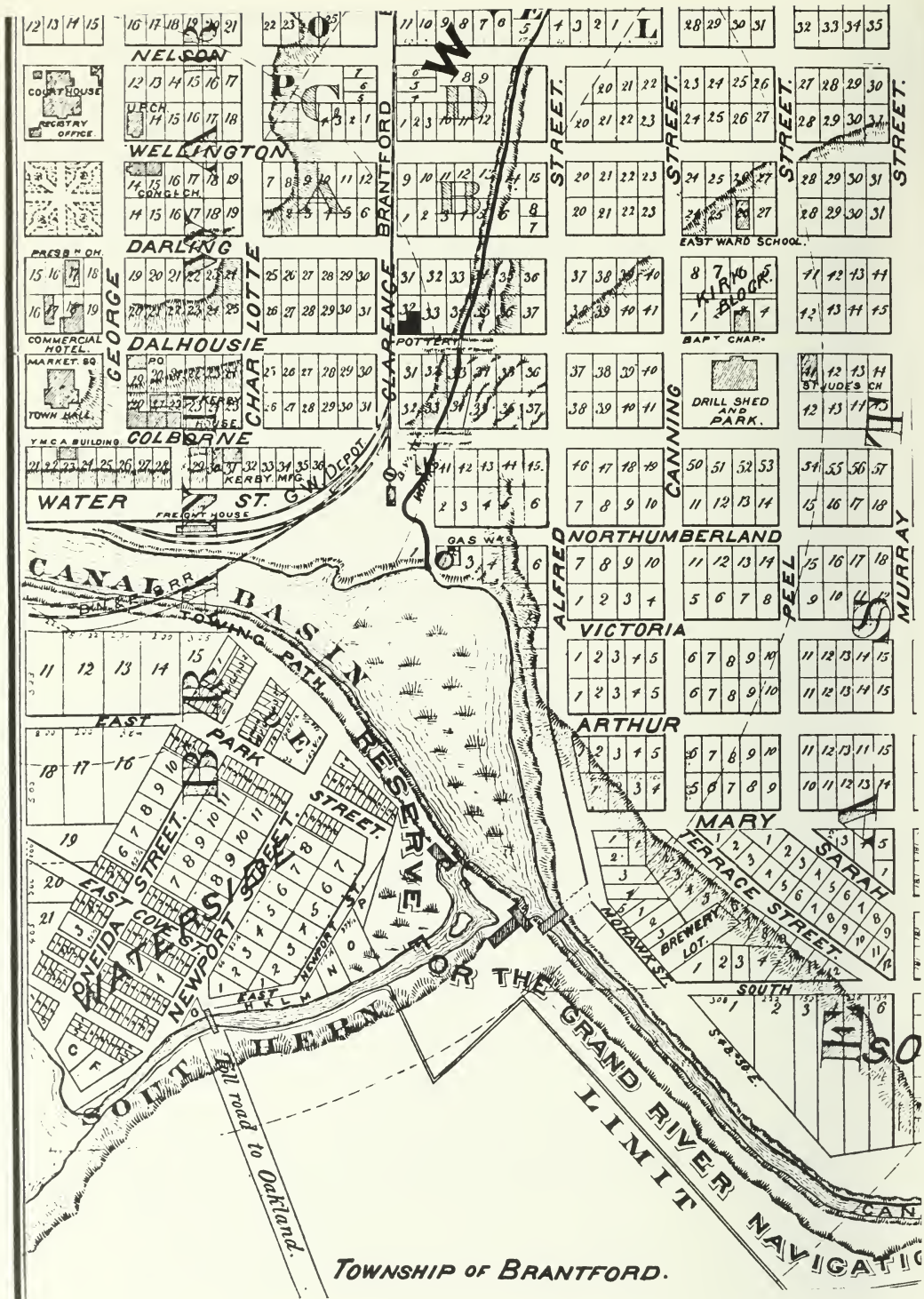
Qualitative analysis by the R.O.M. Conservation Department has shown that these slabs were, in fact, discarded glaze mixtures which had been poured out and eventually hardened. The colouring agent of the green sections was copper oxide and of the cinnamon-red slabs, lead oxide. Samples analyzed of both colours also contained carbonates, silica, calcium, and an organic additive, probably the gum arabic binder used in virtually all glazes.

In excavations about mid-April, extending into the earth-filled site (contractor's trench on the ground plan), the general layer of compacted pottery was encountered only in that area of the north-south excavation parallel to Trench 10, by then closed. No new information resulted. As had been indicated by Test Pit 5 to the north, this area of the site had not been previously excavated for cellars, and was composed of brown sand throughout.

The southern wing of the contractor's east-west excavations, at approximately the centre of the site, cut through a kiln floor footed in sand, with the top surface three inches below the site surface level. This kiln, either from the 1873-83 period and/or possibly the 1884-1906 pottery, was in the pottery yard. The base of the kiln was composed of brick, laid flat in opposite directions in successive layers, eleven courses thick to a depth of three feet below surface. The top three courses were yellow fire-brick; the eight courses beneath were common earth or shale brick.

In the absence of early ground plans, kiln positions have not been precisely established. All were, however, built at surface level, with a minimum of excavation, and detached from buildings. No bases or remains were apparent at present surface level, and most had undoubtedly been previously removed; in any event there was insufficient time for a search.

Though the progression and production of the Brantford pottery from its beginning to 1883 was completely established by these excavations, the probable area of the pottery dump has not been excavated. As previously mentioned, the creek banks to the east have been deeply filled beyond the retaining walls through which the stream now flows, and a private residence now occupies the southern part of this filled area. Thus the dump site is not clear for excavation, nor is it likely to become so in the foreseeable future.



The township of Brantford, from Atlas, County of Brant, 1875

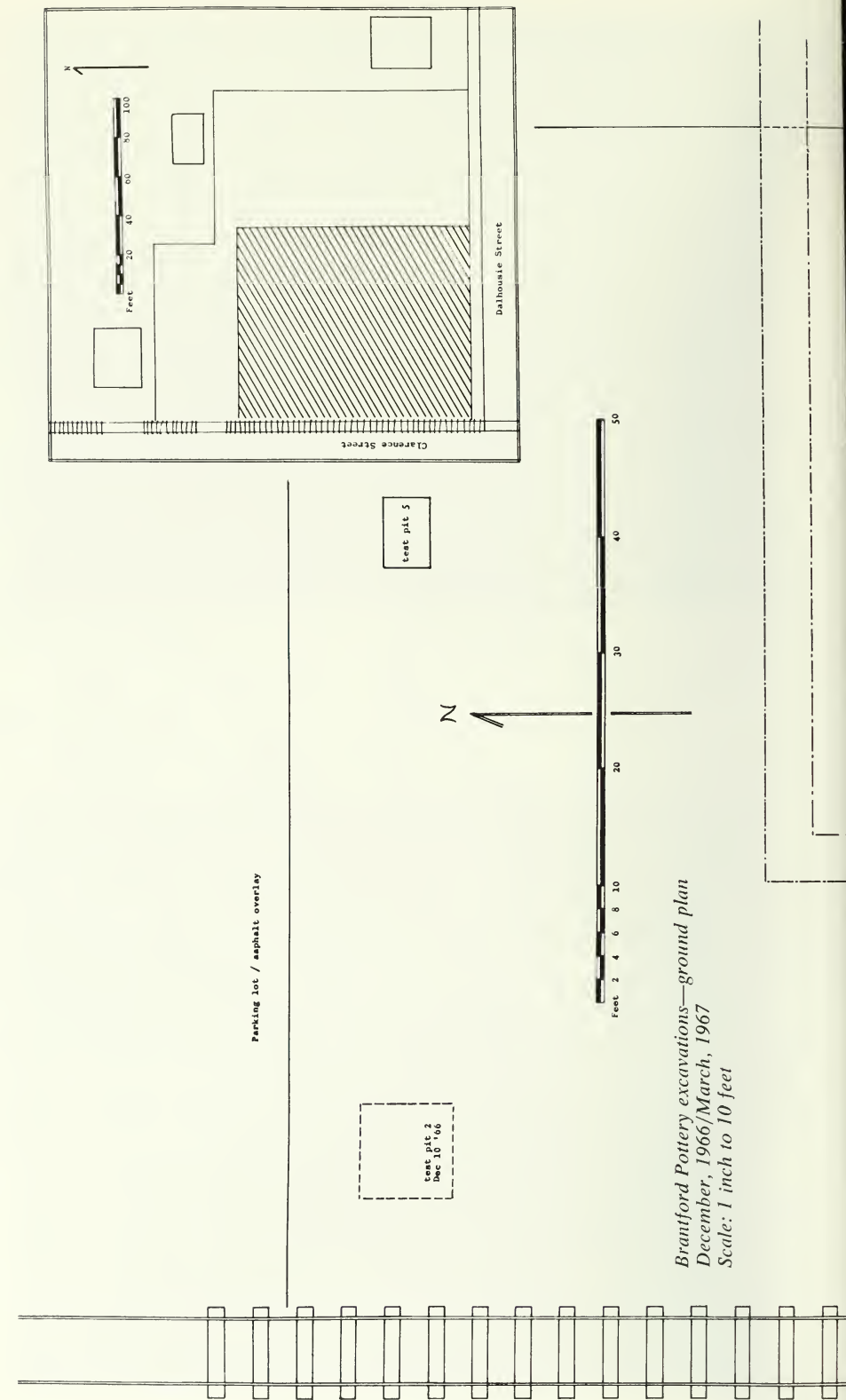




Fig. 11 *The pottery site, December 10, 1966, southwest area. Dalhousie Street is to the left, the railroad tracks and Clarence Street to the right.*

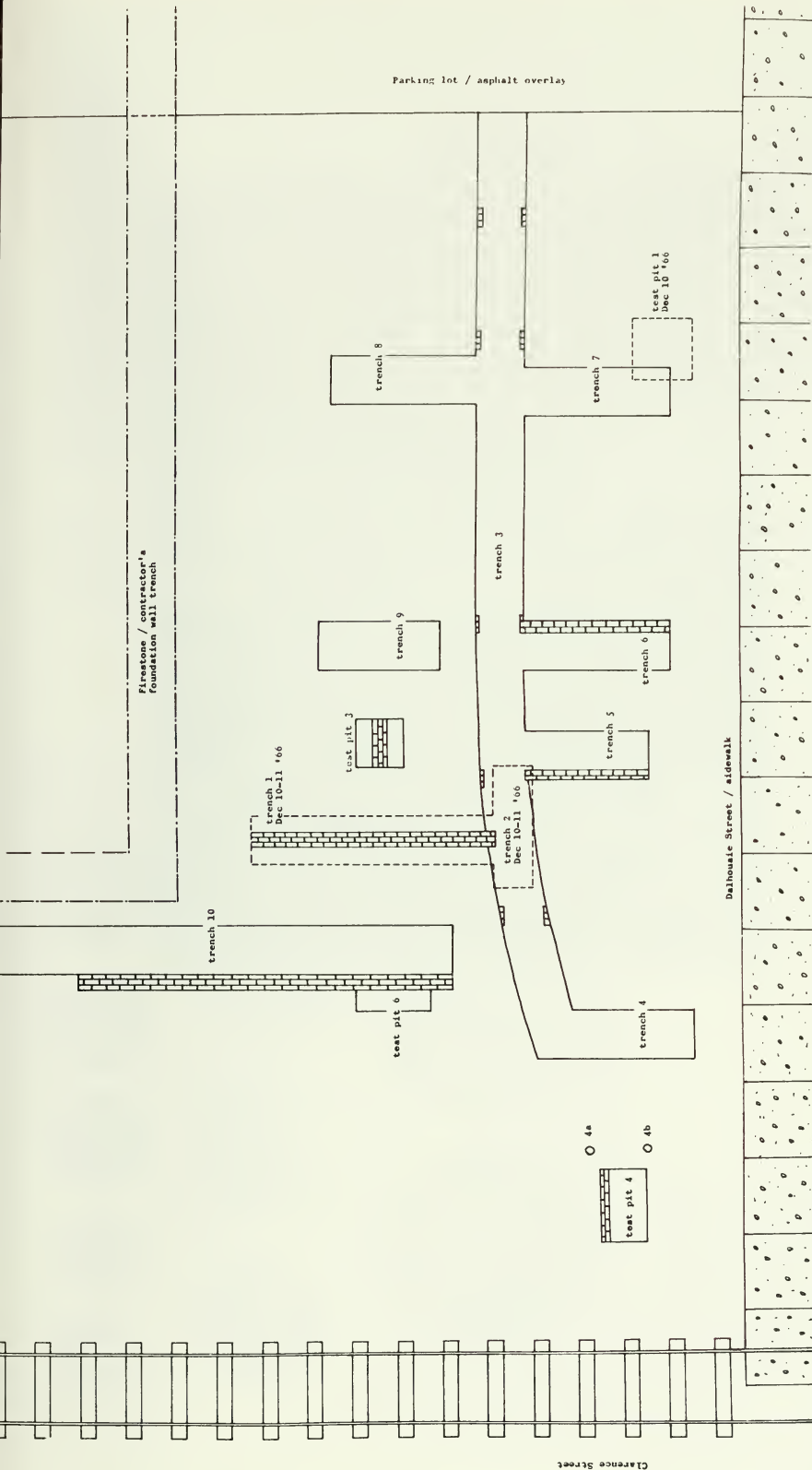
Fig. 12 *The same.*





*Brantford Pottery excavations—ground plan  
December, 1966/March, 1967  
Scale: 1 inch to 10 feet*







*Fig. 13 Pit 4, in the southwest corner of the site, dug in frozen ground, March, 1967.*



Fig. 14 Small jars for tobacco, sugar, or spices, all unmarked, were found at all levels of excavation. These three, the right and left pieces brown slip-coated (Trench 2), the centre jar salt-glazed (Trench 1), are from the period 1873-83 (Welding—Level 2b).



Fig. 15 Flat jar lids of varied sizes, both brown slip-coated and salt-glazed, occurred in quantity at all levels. The two smallest lids (lower left) are for wide-mouthed bottles or tall jars (fig. 24, a). The next four in size are for low jars (fig. 14), and the largest for salt-glazed jars of one to three gallons capacity.



Fig. 16 *Production pieces, all roughly hand-formed of stoneware clay with maximum content of added sand, occurred in great quantity.*

- a** *large-ring base tiles (saggers), sectional or broken*
- b** *small-ring base tiles (saggers)*
- c** *hand-formed concavities, purpose not established*
- d** *flat elongated base or rim tiles*
- e** *flat disc rim tiles*
- f** *base stilts for heavy vessels*
- g** *cross-support wedges*
- h** *salt-glazed jug top, with elongated tile fragment adhering*



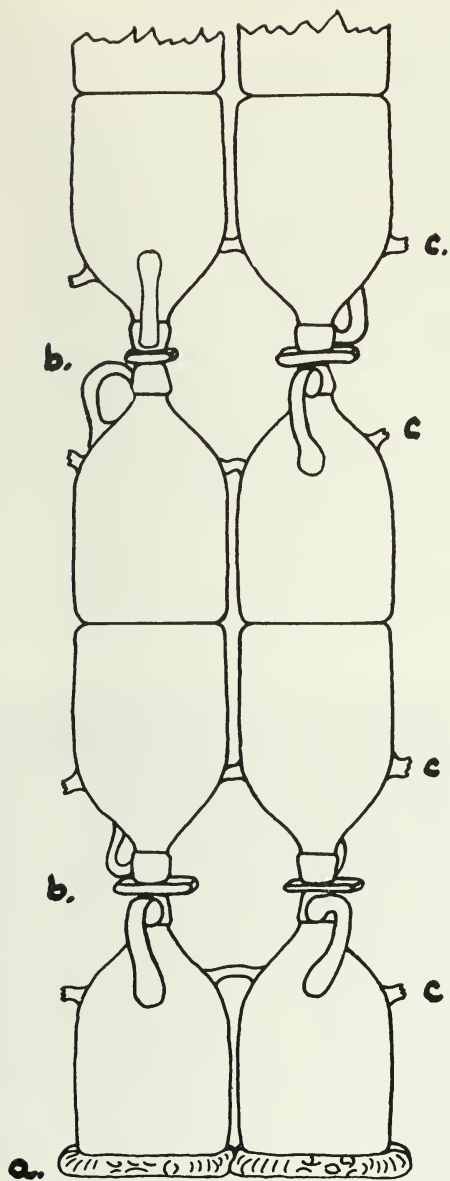


Fig. 17 Utilization of production pieces, fig. 16.

For firing, stoneware vessels were stacked in the kiln base-to-base and rim-to-rim, the lowest in a stack being base down. Stacked in this manner, bases, rims, and insides of vessels were not exposed to salt glazing.

Such a stack required separators and additional support, provided by ring or sectional base tiles (saggers) on which the stack was based (a), flat elongated or disc tiles (b) between the necks of jugs or bottles, and wedges (c) at two or three points on each vessel to separate the vertical stacks.



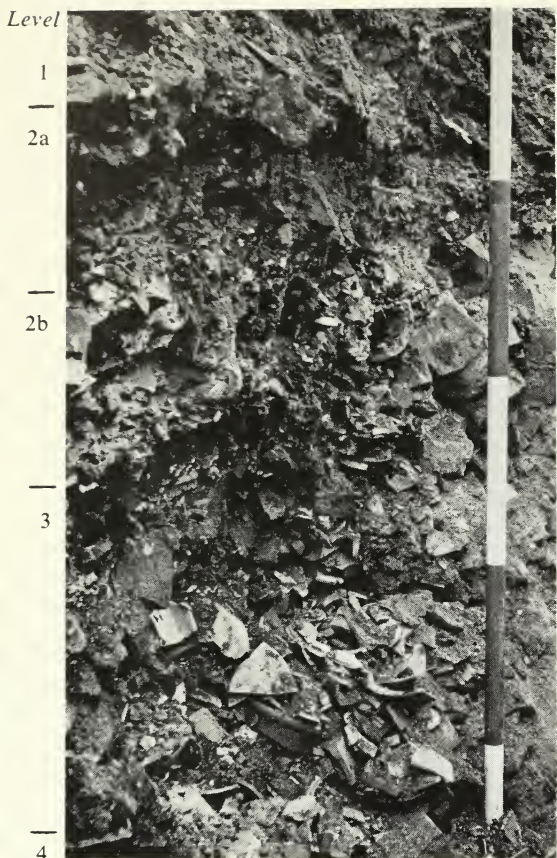


Fig. 18 *Compacted pottery, Trench 3, north wall, 65 feet east of railroad tracks.*  
*Scale, one-foot graduations*



Fig. 19 *Trench 3, south wall, 50 feet east of railroad tracks.*  
*Eighteen-inch scale*

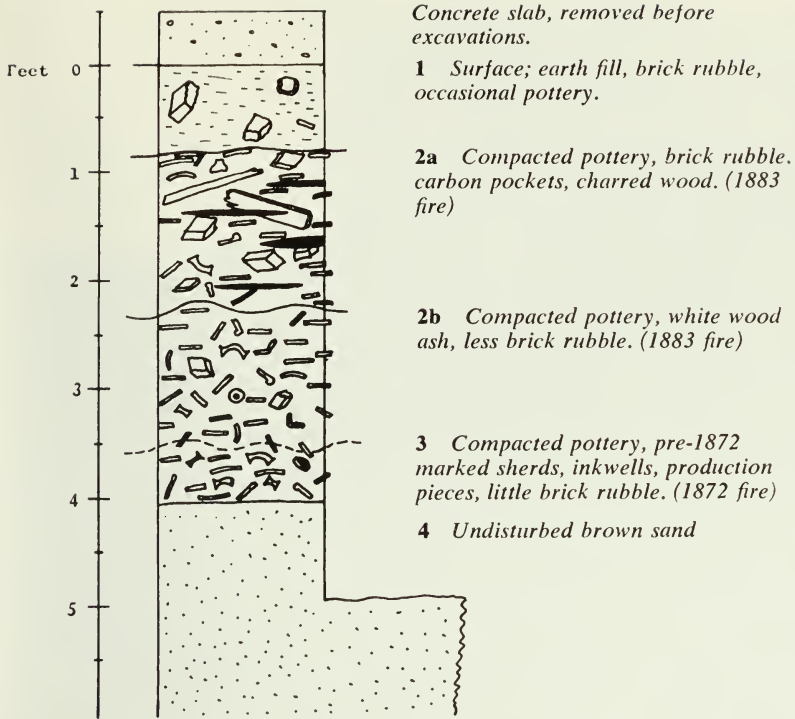


Fig. 20 Profile, south wall of Trench 3, at Trench 5. This profile indicates, with variations in the relative thickness of sub-levels, the approximate underground configuration of all excavated areas. Level 3 was often discernible only by artifacts, not visually.



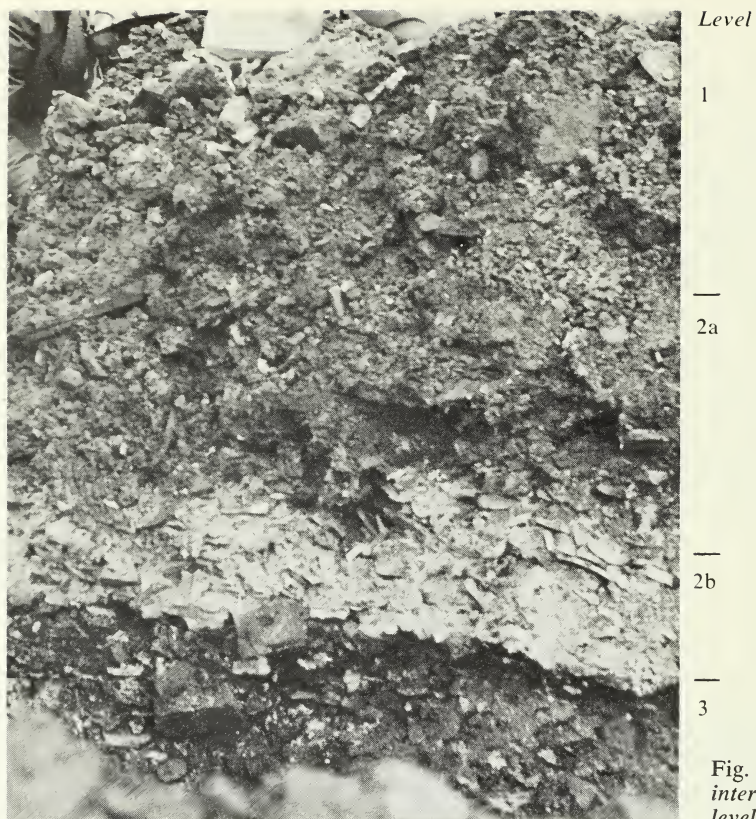


Fig. 21 Trench 3, south wall, at intersection of Trench 6, showing levels of fire rubble.



Fig. 22 Compacted pottery in Level 2a, Trench 3 at intersection of Trench 6. Level 2a excavated to 2b. Eighteen-inch scale.

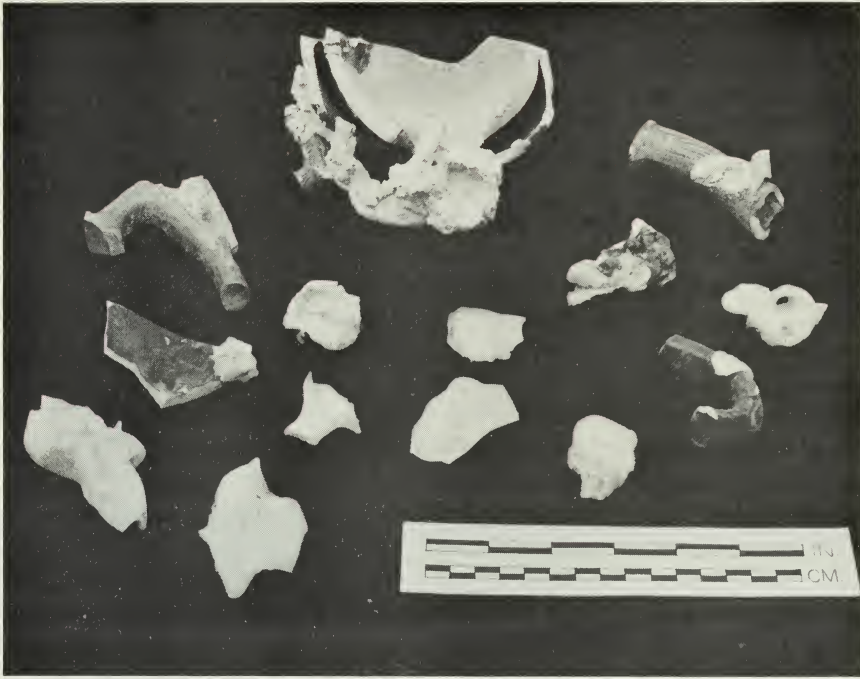


Fig. 23 As well as re-melted yellow and Rockingham glazes, distorted and melted window glass occurred frequently (Levels 2a and 2b), both freely and adhering to sherds, however glazed. In occasional cases, as the top-centre piece, sherds were cemented together by glass, and numerous sherds had glass adhering to fractured edges. In the 1883 fire considerable pottery was probably broken prior to actual structural collapse of the building.



Fig. 24 Rim profiles, type 1, necked vessels.

- a bottle/tall jar, wide-mouthed, covered
  - b bottle, one pint/one quart
  - c bottle/small handled jug, one- or two-quart
  - d, e, g handled jugs, half-gallon to six-gallon
  - f pouring spout, handled syrup jug, one- to three-gallon
- All vessels generally salt-glazed, less commonly brown.

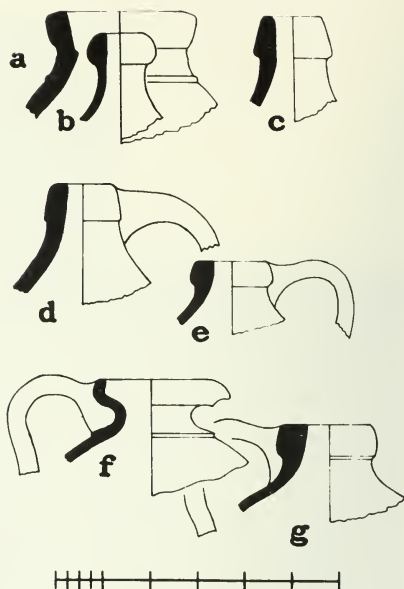


Fig. 25 One-quart jugs, handles lacking, unmarked and unglazed, semi-fired by the burning of the pottery, 1883 (Trench 1).



### III *Excavation Recoveries*

The Brantford pottery was, at least through the period covered by the excavations, primarily a producer of salt-glazed stoneware containers for both household and commercial use. During the later (c. 1875–1883) period, Rockingham and yellow-glazed moulded and cast household wares became an increasingly important secondary form, and were probably the primary products between 1883 and 1906.

The pottery between its founding in 1849 and the fire of 1872, as represented by sherd Level 3 throughout the excavations, produced only container wares, largely crocks, jugs, jars and churns, in standard capacities of from half-gallon to six or seven gallons. Such larger pieces were invariably salt-glazed and often decorated externally with cobalt-blue designs, and lined or washed internally with brown Albany slip. The salt-glazed containers, following universal practice, were with few exceptions stamped with either the name of the pottery proprietor or, on special order, an individual merchant's or quantity purchaser's mark.

Smaller articles, such as tobacco or sugar jars, inkwells, bottles, and special miniature pieces, while also most typically salt-glazed, were in lieu of salt-glazing commonly given an overall wash of brown Albany slip. Smaller pieces, too, were only occasionally marked—apparently they were considered less important than the standard containers.

There was no evidence, from the excavations, of production before 1872 of any but salt-glazed or slip-washed containers, all wheel-thrown and essentially hand-made. External evidence, from existing intact pieces in various collections, has not yet indicated volume-production pottery other than container wares assignable to this period. One known brown slip-coated picture frame, signed G. Beech and dated at Brantford in April, 1862, indicates that moulded wares were done experimentally in the Goold period, and perhaps even earlier, but apparently as individual pieces. (See Collard, *Nineteenth Century Pottery and Porcelain in Canada*.)

As in all potteries, non-typical articles were occasionally produced, sometimes in quantity to fill a special order, but often as individual pieces made as apprentice's or potter's exercises, as gifts, for personal use, or some other reason. From Level 2c was recovered one miniature bottle with pinched sides (fig. 27), evidently just such an individual product. The most surprising recovery was a quantity of small and plain inkwells, salt-glazed outside with an internal slip wash (fig. 26). The salt-glazing (done only with a full kiln) indicates quantity production, yet the inkwells were unmarked and far less elaborate than those known from other stoneware potteries. Compact, durable, and of small capacity, they may well have been manufactured for student use in schools. The inkwells were evidently in use in the pottery as well, for of over 20 recovered intact, most in Level 3, sixteen were found individually throughout the heavily compacted areas of Trenches 3 and 10; four were found as two pairs (one pair in Level 2a, Trench 1). The small quantity and individual occurrence indicates the inkwells were not stocked items at the time of either fire.

Throughout all sub-levels within the strata of compacted pottery, and in all areas except Pit 4 and Trench 4, salt-glazed wares were by far the predominant form. Recovery of reconstructable examples of larger vessels was impossible in a situation where concentrated sherds could easily have been removed by the cubic yard or the ton, and pointless in dealing with container types and forms already well known.

Thus, except in dealing with the more unusual pieces, selection of salt-glazed material for analysis was purposely limited to markings and rim samples, both available in great quantity and, because of the location of stoneware markings on vessels, often coincident. Markings recovered included, from Level 3, those of Morton, Goold, and Welding & Belding alone (fig. 4). No sherds were found with stamps of Morton & Bennett, Morton & Goold, or Brantford Stoneware Works (Goold). As would be expected, Welding & Belding markings were in the great majority here.

Rimsherds were classified into five profile types, all of which are illustrated (figs. 24, 28). Even within the pottery and on otherwise identical vessel forms, there was considerable minor variation in rims of the same type, formed as they were with wooden ribs applied to the clay in different positions by different individuals.

(In any analysis of North American stoneware, it must be remembered that after about 1820 relatively standard basic vessel forms and rim types, with regional differences, were in production by many different potteries at any given time. In identifying unmarked pieces or fragmentary archaeological artifacts, only stamped markings or definite and well-established decorative characteristics can be accepted as definitive. Within various large geographical regions, rim profiles and/or vessel cross-sections were too generally similar throughout the industry, yet too varied in minor characteristics even within the same pottery, to be considered reliable evidence for any conclusion more precise than establishment of regional provenance and approximate dating.)

Sherds at all levels indicated that many containers, particularly the larger sizes, had been decorated externally with generally simple designs in cobalt-oxide blue glaze (figs. 1, 2, 3, 9). Most such decorations were brushed-on floral motifs or other basic designs, following the universal practice of stoneware potteries throughout Canada and the north-eastern United States.

Decorations on vessels produced during the proprietorship of F. P. Goold, however, were occasionally much more imaginative and elaborate, including designs incised in formed but unfired clay rather than painted on the surface (figs. 5, 6). Time-consuming incised decorating of stoneware was most common in North America during the 1810-1840 period and, except for rare instances, had largely given way to easier and faster surface-painted designs by 1850. Goold-period glaze-painted designs were sometimes quite unusual; one known piece bears a cow stencilled in outline (fig. 7), and another a duck floating on water.

After 1872, W. E. Welding continued to produce stoneware and brown containers in the same forms and styles as previously, without significant change except markings. All Welding blue-glazed decorations were quite

simple and basic, and no evidence was found of incised decorating having been continued during this period.

No decorations—incising or painting—have been found on Brantford salt-glazed stonewares, from the excavations or in collections, to be either sufficiently numerous or sufficiently characteristic of this pottery alone in subject or style to offer reliable evidence for attribution of other unmarked or fragmentary pieces.

Salt-glazed sherds, evenly and heavily distributed throughout the excavations, with the exception of Trench 4 and Pit 4, indicate that salt-glazed wares were stored in nearly all parts of the building in 1883. The sherd quantity, in spite of being almost entirely from large and heavy rather than light vessels, would imply that at the time of the fire salt-glazed containers still comprised not less than 75 per cent of the pottery's total output.

It was pottery forms other than salt-glazed containers, however, that proved to be most important. Moulded and slip-cast patterned sherds, Rockingham and yellow-glazed, were concentrated in and confined to limited areas of the site—Pits 4, 4a and 4b, Trench 4, some areas of Trench 5, and Trench 6. These sherd concentrations established numerous forms of previously unknown household wares, as well as the degree of mechanical as opposed to hand production as of 1883.

Press-moulding of rolled sheets of clay between upper and lower moulds, usually to form bowls and dishes, was probably introduced in the pottery well before the more complex technique of slip-casting, and sherds of relatively simple press-moulded pieces were found in quantity. Included were the only yellow-glazed wares, small bowls in two forms (figs. 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38) decorated with horizontal white and/or brown overglazed lines. These sherds occurred in concentrated and compacted form primarily in Trench 6, Levels 2a and b. The bowls were certainly a product of both mould and wheel, being first press-moulded, then hand-finished on a wheel, then glazed and semi-fired. Finally the horizontal lines were added, and the pieces completely fired.

The greatest quantity of Rockingham-glazed, press-moulded ware was confined to pie plates, serving dishes, milk pans, and baking dishes, concentrated at the intersection of Trenches 3 and 6, and for 20 feet to the west in the south wall of Trench 6, all in Levels 2a and b. The press-moulded pieces with straight sides and rims were all undecorated, and were mixed with sherds of at least partially wheel-made pieces with everted rims (figs. 35, 36). While all partial reconstructions were of round pans or dishes, there is little doubt that oval or elongated pieces were also produced.

Though the technique had been used for centuries, such basic press-moulded pieces apparently represent the Brantford pottery's first venture, in the mid-1870s, into any form of mechanical production.

Other bowl forms, like most decorative-patterned pieces, seem to have been slip-cast, by pouring semi-liquid and thoroughly refined clay into four- or eight-section plaster-of-Paris moulds. Sherds of patterned bowls occurred in far smaller quantity than plain press-moulded types, but in the same areas. One form (figs. 32c, 40) was found as only occasional yellow-glazed sherds (Trench 6, Levels 2a and b), though identical intact pieces,



Rockingham-glazed, have been acquired since. Another pattern (figs. 32d, 41) was found in greater quantity, all sherds Rockingham-glazed (Trench 4, Pits 4, 4a and b).

It is interesting to note that, except for one yellow-glazed sherd of a larger version of a patterned bowl (figs. 32c, 40) and several sherds of an unusual wheel-turned yellow-glazed bowl (figs. 37, 38), no bowls whatsoever were found in larger or kitchen/utility sizes. It is impossible to imagine that the pottery was not making such pieces; but it is evident that a very small stock, if any, was in the pottery at the time of the 1883 fire.

Before the popularity of cigarettes, pottery spittoons were the ash-trays of a cigar and pipe-smoking age. In the late 19th century virtually every pottery in North America made spittoons. The Brantford pottery in the early 1880s was manufacturing at least four patterns, all slip-cast and Rockingham-glazed, two of which were recovered in quantity during excavations (Trench 3, 4, Levels 2a, b). Most numerous in terms of sherd quantities was a spittoon with a pattern of shells in relief (figs. 42, 43), generally Rockingham-glazed. Many sherds were unglazed and semi-fired. Others, grossly colour-distorted by the fire of 1883, may have been brown slip-coated (visually it is impossible to distinguish absolutely brown Albany slip from fire-distorted Rockingham glazes).

Another form, recovered in quantity in the same area, was a straight-sided, slightly trapezoidal, slip-cast spittoon with a vertical bamboo pattern (figs. 44, 45). All sherds were Rockingham or light brown glazed, and were mixed with shell spittoon pieces.

Two other spittoon forms, with similar patterns, were recovered as isolated sherds (fig. 46), both evidently small straight-sided pieces, one with panelled sides and both with rope-banded rims. Sherds were not reconstructable.

Of all the forms of moulded-wares discovered, pitchers, with a single exception, were the most confusing. By far the most common type, in terms of sherd quantity, was a small Rockingham-glazed milk or cream pitcher, slip-cast with a simple pattern of twigs or branches with flower buds on each side (figs. 48a, 49g) (Pit 4, Level 2a). Other sherds, scattered (Pits 4, 4a and b, Trench 4, Levels 2a and b) and not reconstructable, represented at least two larger pitcher forms and possibly four cast patterns. Pitchers were evidently stored in an area of intense heat during the fire of 1883, for sherd glazes were often distorted to the point of making identification tenuous and indistinct cast patterns unrecognizable. Such sherds were sufficiently coherent in form for approximate reconstruction by drawings, though, except for fig. 48b (and 50), not for pattern determination. The two large pitcher forms were certainly stocked as individual units and not as ewer and basin sets; no evidence was found of corresponding bowls.

Occasional fragments were found of large wheel-turned salt-glazed pitchers (fig. 49a), a standard manufacture of every stoneware pottery. Most such pitchers were marked in the manner usual with large salt-glazed containers: the maker's stamp and capacity impressed and blue-glazed below the lip.



Perhaps the most important recovery from the excavation proved to be sherds, in quantity, of two slip-cast, Rockingham-glazed teapots (Trench 4, Pits 4, 4a and b, Levels 2a and b). One form bore on each side a sharply cast pattern in relief, of a recumbent beaver below sprigs of maple leaves, and had a locking lid with a finial in the form of a complete moulded beaver (figs. 51, 52, 53). Sherds recovered indicated only one basic size of teapot, though rim diameters probably varied depending on the particular mould from which each piece was cast. Over forty lids were recovered intact or with only minor damage, with minor variations in diameter. Glaze coloration on both sherds and intact lids ranged from light yellow-brown to near-black, the result of fire distortion.

A variant form of the beaver-pattern teapot acquired since the excavations, though heavier and clumsier in its proportions, is obviously extremely close to the excavated form. Its lid is both flatter and wider and has a more rudimentary moulded beaver finial. Neither excavated sherds and an identical intact example, nor the variant, is marked. The most logical assessment seems to be that the variant is an early form of this pattern and one no longer current in 1883.

The second patterned teapot found bears in relief the classical scene of Rebecca-at-the-Well on each side, and is panel-sided rather than round (figs. 54, 55, 56). As well as sherds in quantity (Trench 4, Pits 4, 4a and b, Levels 2a and b), thirty-six intact or slightly damaged lids, with plain panel-sided finials, were recovered. This teapot was manufactured in at least two sizes, indicated by both sherds and lids and by intact examples, like the beaver pattern in several moulds. The actual pattern size is identical on both teapot sizes, the pattern simply occupying a greater proportion of surface area on the smaller piece.

The beaver pattern is unique to the Brantford pottery so far as can be established. The Rebecca pattern, in many variations, was also produced at the Farrar pottery at St. Johns, Quebec, and at a number of potteries in New Jersey, New York, and Ohio. The Brantford version, however, is sufficiently characteristic for ready identification.

Moulded decorative figures were produced by most potteries at one time or another, both in red earthenware and stoneware. Certainly the most universally popular form was a seated dog, directly derivative of earlier Staffordshire pieces though rarely of equal quality. Stoneware dog figures were made sometimes as solid figures intended as doorstops, as hollow but sealed purely decorative pieces, or as hollow coin banks with a slot in the base or head. Two sherds from the excavations, both of the heads of seated dogs (figs. 57, 58), one salt-glazed, the other Rockingham-glazed, indicate occasional fabrication of this ubiquitous form. No other moulded figures were apparent. Two intact pieces presently existing in Brantford are reputed through family histories, and with no cause for doubt, to have been made in the pottery during the late Welding period, and probably after the 1883 fire.

Forms which probably reached their height of production in the period after the fire of 1883 were recovered in the excavations only as isolated sherds. The Brantford pottery has long been well known for its picture

frames, Rockingham-glazed and probably open-mould cast, of which several examples are known to exist (fig. 59). Sherds recovered (fig. 60) of pre-1883 frames (Trench 4, Levels 2a and b) are relatively simple in pattern, and the absence of elaborately patterned sherds probably indicates the post-1883 manufacture of elaborate examples. No picture-frame sherds were found in Level 3, although intact pre-1872 examples are known.

Another of the few moulded or cast forms which are known to have been re-established in production after the 1883 fire was a simple straight-sided pitcher, rounded and reeded into the base, and with reed-banded rim (figs. 61, 62). Only isolated sherds appeared in excavations, all unglazed, unmarked, and semi-fired by the fire, indicating probably that this pitcher was in manufacture but not in stock.

Later examples, some marked BRANTFORD/CANADA on the base, are commonly found with green, green and blue, or pinkish glazes. Since no examples of coloured glazes, other than the Rockingham brown over yellow, were found during excavations, it is most unlikely that this pitcher would have been otherwise glazed as early as 1883.

Though less significant than the salt-glazed and other moulded and cast wares, flowerpots in many variations seem to have been a staple product of the Brantford pottery (figs. 63, 64). Earlier versions, generally pieces with integral saucers, were wheel-turned, but most pieces seem to have been press-formed. In all patterns, from sherd quantities, integral saucer types were far more common than basic pots with separate saucers. Moulded patterns were restricted to reeded pot and saucer sides, with pie-crust and dentil banded rims. No flowerpots were found with a true glaze, but most were coated with brown slip, either as a complete covering outside with no coating inside, or by rim dipping which coated the top third to half both outside and inside. Though the typical piece was unmarked, occasional sherds were found in Level 2 stamped W. E. WELDING below the rim (Trenches 3, 5, 6, 10, Levels 2a and 2b, 3).

Isolated sherds were found of everted and rolled rim jardinières, probably wheel-turned, and of hanging flower vases which were mounted probably in wire frames with separate saucers.

The excavations established, most particularly, the great majority of the previously unknown press-moulded and slip-cast wares of the Brantford pottery manufactured between c. 1875–1883. Occasional patterned sherds (fig. 47) and a few other isolated single fragments, however, indicate that at one time or another forms and patterns were very likely produced which so far defy identification and which cannot be established from the excavation recoveries alone.

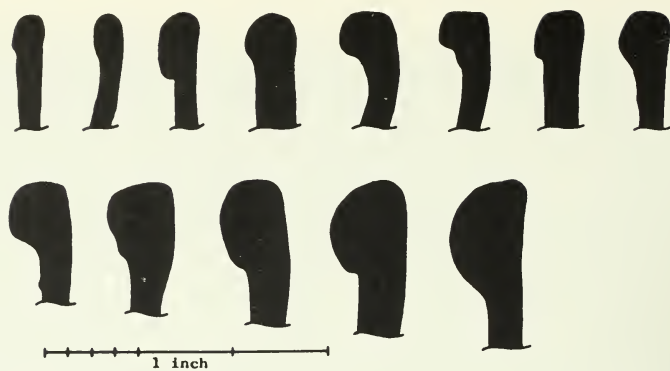


Fig. 26 *Intact small and simple salt-glazed inkwells, intended probably for school use, occurred singly or in pairs throughout the excavations (Level 2), but without concentration and in insufficient quantity to suggest a large stock at the time of the fire of 1872.*

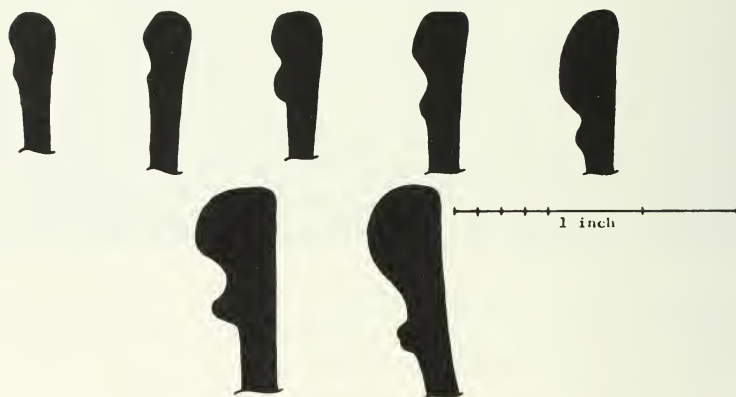


Fig. 27 *Only one miniature special or individual piece was recovered from excavations (Trench 3, Level 3), this early unmarked salt-glazed bottle with pinched sides. Such pieces were probably made relatively often, but few would have been in the pottery at any given time.*

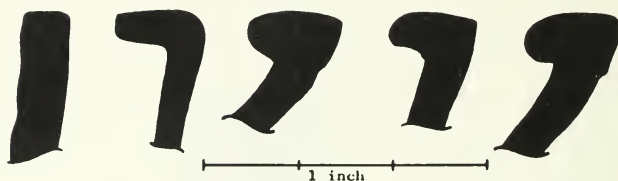
*Rim profiles, type 2, open containers, single rib*



*Rim profiles, type 3, open containers, double rib*



*Rim profiles, type 4, open containers, square end and everted rib*



*Rim profiles, type 5, covered containers*

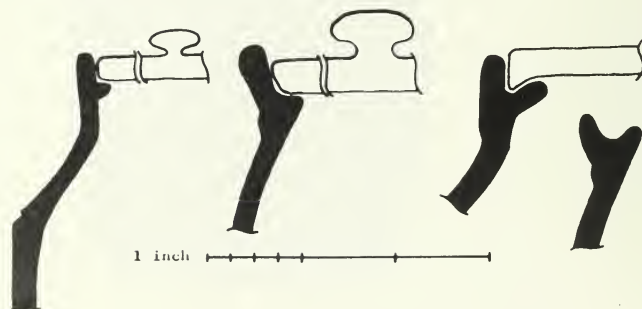


Fig. 28 Rim profiles, salt-glazed open and covered containers.



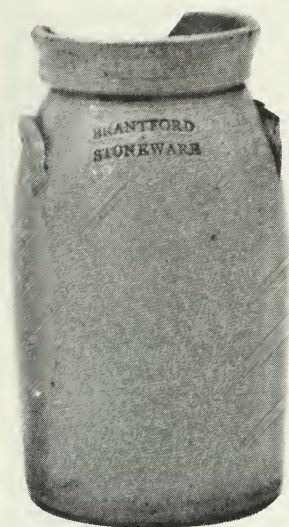


Fig. 29 Like most larger potteries employing travelling salesmen, Brantford from time to time produced miniature samples—precise replicas of larger stock items. No sherds of such samples were recovered from excavations.

On the left is a covered jar, 3½ inches high, a sample of production pieces of one- to five-gallon capacity. The marking, BRANTFORD / STONEWARE, did not occur on any excavated sherds or separately observed pieces, and may be a version of Goold's "Brantford Stoneware Works."

Private collection

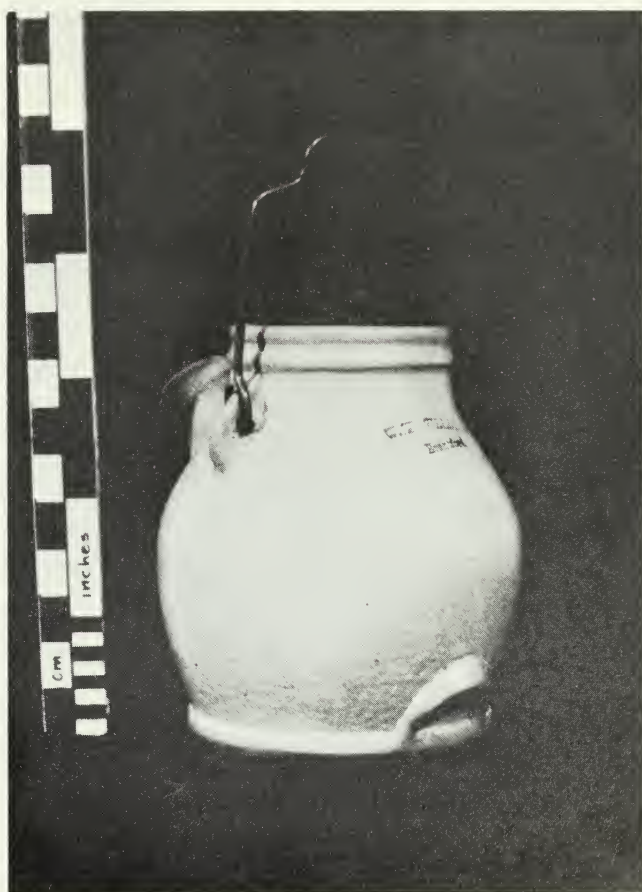


Fig. 30 At right is a batter pitcher, 3½ inches high, marked W. E. WELDING / Brantford, Ont. It is a precise miniature, with sheet-iron cover and wire bail loop of standard one- to three-gallon pieces.

Private collection

Fig. 31 Eight white and brown banding patterns have been isolated for small yellow-glazed bowls, seven shown here and one (of two bands of four lines each) on the reconstructed straight-sided bowl (fig. 32, b). Only occasional sherds of heavy-rimmed bowls (third left) were found.

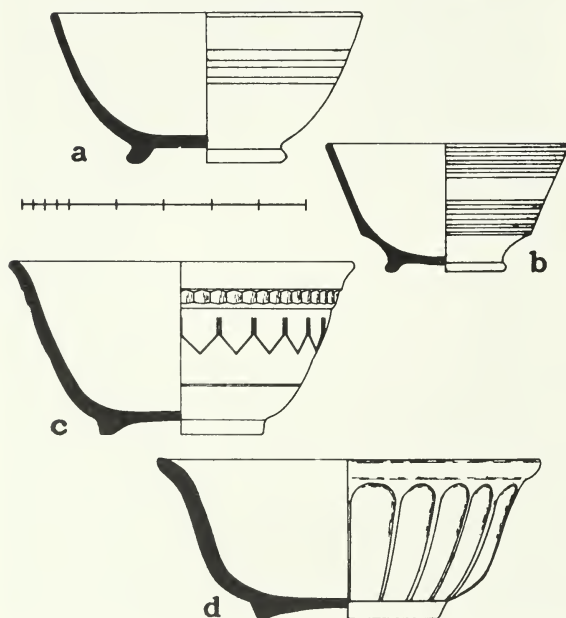


Fig. 32 Profiles, bowl types (Welding, c. 1883)

a wheel-turned, yellow-glazed, white and/or brown banded

b same

c press-moulded, pattern in relief, yellow- or Rockingham-glazed

d press-moulded, pattern in relief, Rockingham-glazed

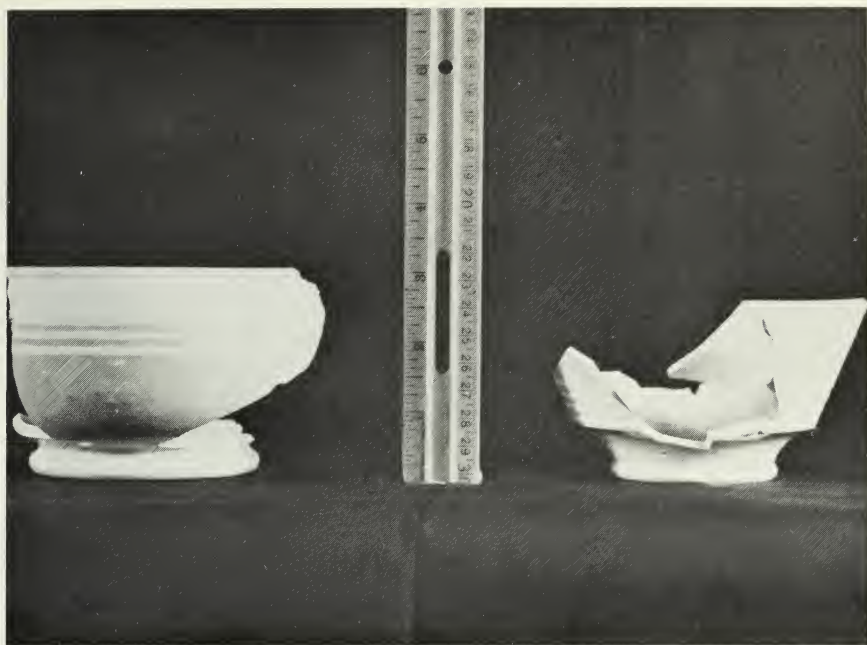


Fig. 33 Small yellow-glazed bowls, with white or mixed white and brown horizontal bands, were densely concentrated in the area where Trenches 3 and 6, Levels 2a and 2b (Welding) intersected. All unmarked, the bowls occurred in two basic forms (shown above) and several sizes, the largest six inches in rim diameter.

Fig. 34 Reconstructed small yellow-glazed bowls.

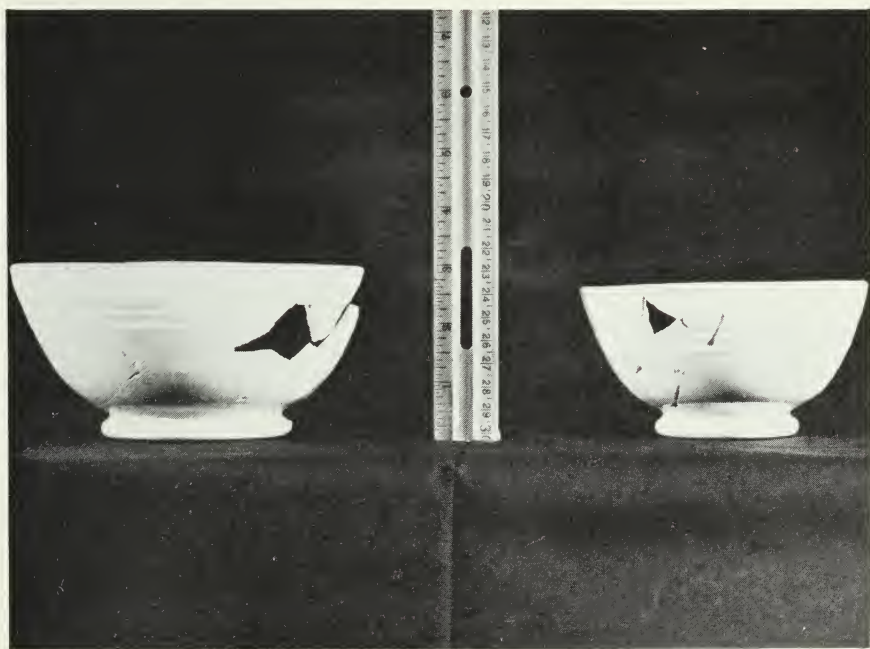




Fig. 35 *Deep-rimmed milk-skimming pans and shallower pie plates were produced in a number of forms, all unmarked and Rockingham-glazed, and from eight to approximately twelve inches in base diameter. Pieces with everted rims were wheel-turned, and probably represent Welding's earliest Rockingham-glazed work (from c. 1875). Straight rimmed pans were press-moulded, without evident decorative patterns.*

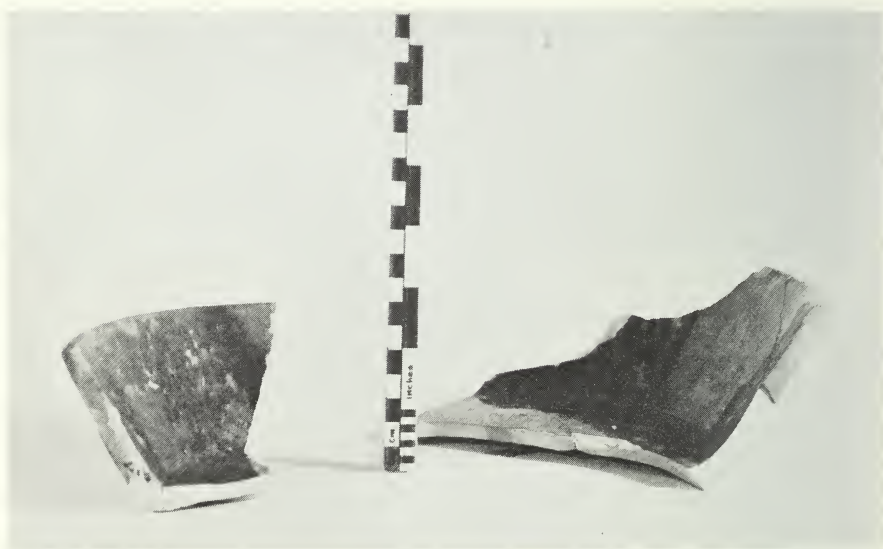
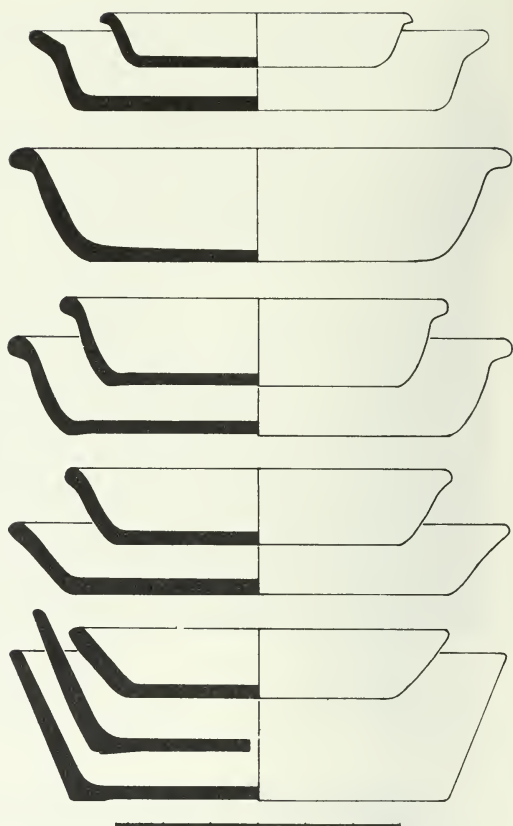


Fig. 36 *Rim-to-base sections, press-moulded and Rockingham-glazed milk pans. Sherds in great quantity were concentrated and tightly compacted (Trench 3, south only, Trench 6, Level 2a).*



Fig. 37 One yellow-glazed and rimmed bowl (Trench 6, Level 2b) with white and brown horizontal bands showed blue blotted decoration within the wide white band, in the style of 19th-century English mocha-ware.



Fig. 38 Large yellow-glazed utility bowls (intact examples represented here) were decorated over the white bands with cobalt-oxide glaze diffused most probably with a drop of turpentine. Bowls of this type from Brantford are the only mocha-wares in the English manner known to have been produced in Canada.  
Black Creek Pioneer Village

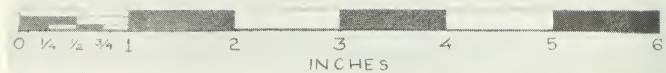


Fig. 39 Occasional sherds of stoneware tiles (Trench 3, Level 2a and 2b), press-moulded and under-glazed in blue before firing and salt-glazing, indicate only periodic production.





Fig. 40 Press-moulded, relief-patterned bowls were recovered in varying quantities. Of the apparent patterns, the one shown (found only occasionally) was a banded rim above a beaded band, with pointed moulding below (see fig. 32, c). All sherds recovered were yellow-glazed and indicated three bowl sizes. Identical Rockingham-glazed pieces have been observed since, none marked.  
Bowl on right, Canadiana, R.O.M.



Fig. 41 Sherds of press-moulded raised ribbed and panelled bowls, recovered in quantity, were all Rockingham-glazed and unmarked (see fig. 22, d). No identical intact pieces have yet been located.

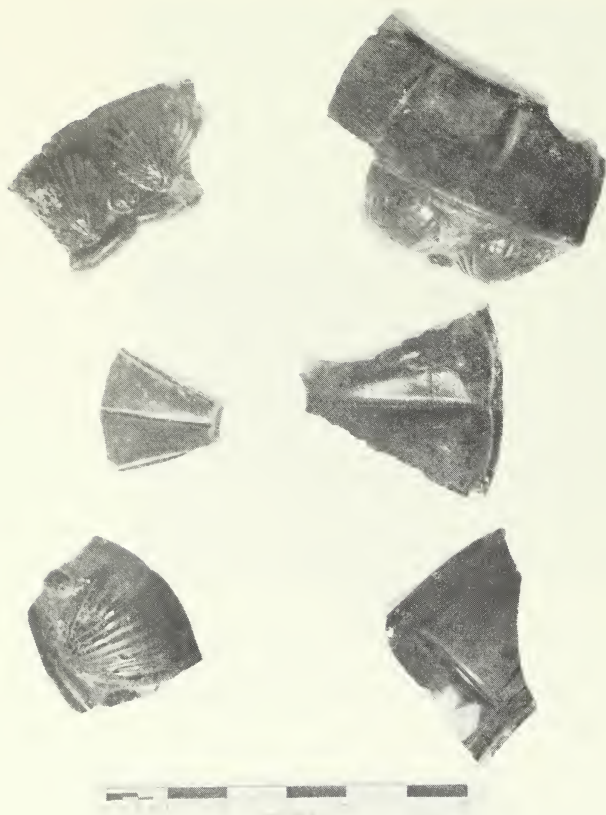


Fig. 42 Spittoon sherds of several slip-cast patterns (Trench 3 and 4, Levels 2a and 2b) occurred in concentrations. In greatest quantity was a pattern with shells in relief, separated by small round escutcheons, around the top-side, a vertically scored base-side, and radially fluted core. All sherds were Rockingham-glazed, many with colour distortion, with the exception of occasional unglazed fragments semi-fired by the 1883 fire.



Fig. 43 Slip-cast and Rockingham-glazed shell-patterned spittoons, all unmarked, have been located in some quantity in various collections since the completion of excavations.  
 Canadiana, R.O.M.



Fig. 44 Another important slip-cast spittoon, though found in lesser sherd quantities than the shell type, had straight slightly sloping sides in a pattern of vertical bamboo sticks in relief (Trench 4, Levels 2a and 2b). All sherds were Rockingham-glazed, and many were colour-distorted.

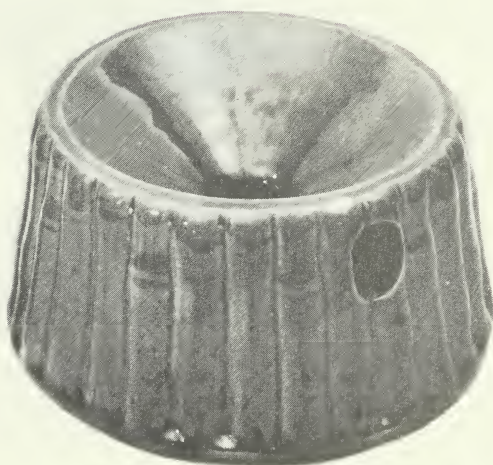


Fig. 45 An intact example of the bamboo-pattern spittoon, Rockingham-glazed and unmarked. Canadiana, R.O.M.



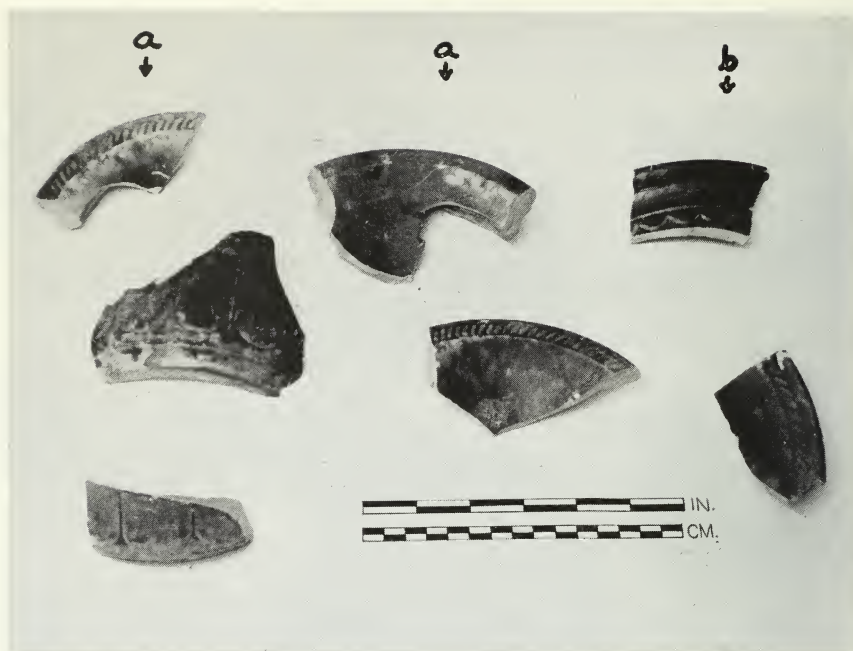


Fig. 46 Two other slip-cast spittoon forms, probably not in production in 1883, were found only as isolated sherds (Trench 4, Level 2b). That in row a had straight sides with flat panels, a rope-banded rim, and recessed side. The two sherds in row b represent the side-rim and core-rim of a similar but not identical piece. Sides are lacking.



Fig. 47 Occasional isolated sherds of slip-cast pieces indicate so far unidentified patterns and objects almost certainly not in stock or production in 1883. The fragment to the left bears a jumping deer in relief, and that to the right the fore-half of a deer or rabbit.

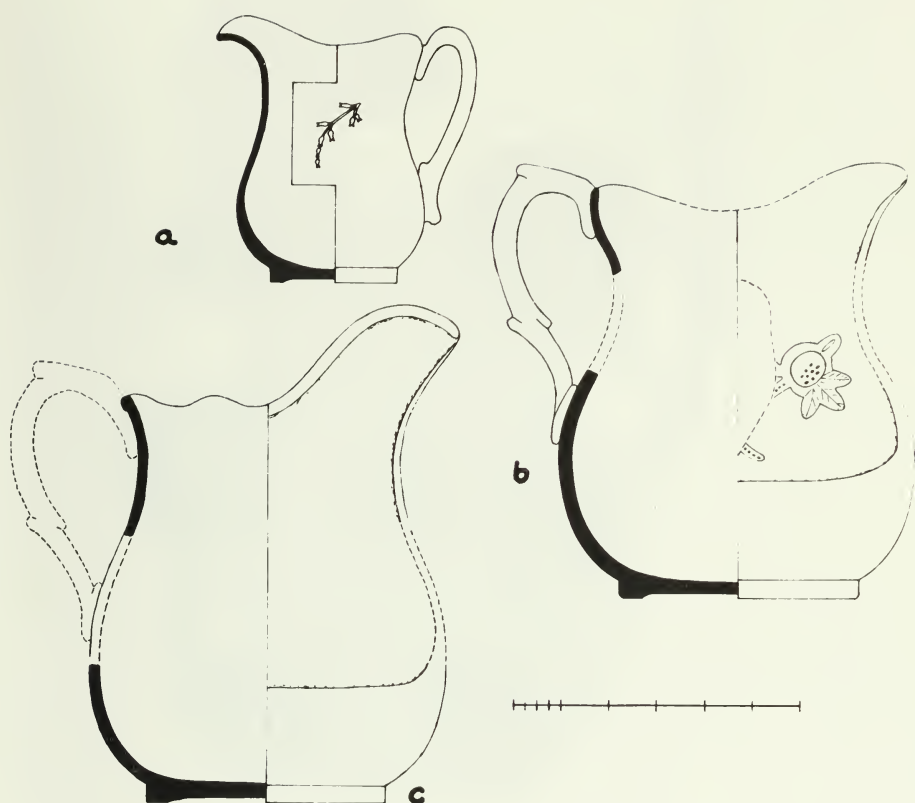


Fig. 48 Three pitcher forms, each established from numerous sherd recoveries, were reconstructable only by drawing. All sherds were extremely compacted with sufficient colour distortion to make some glaze identification tenuous (Trench 4, Levels 2a and 2b).

**a** Cream pitcher, slip-cast, Rockingham-glazed, with pattern of twigs with buds in relief. Sherds in quantity.

**b** Milk or water pitcher, slip-cast, Rockingham-glazed or brown-slip washed, pattern of strawberry flower in relief. Sherds common.

**c** Milk or water pitcher, slip-cast, apparent brown-slip wash, pattern very dulled and not discernible. Sherds uncommon.

Other pitcher forms, represented only by isolated sherds, could not be established nor patterns (if any) determined.

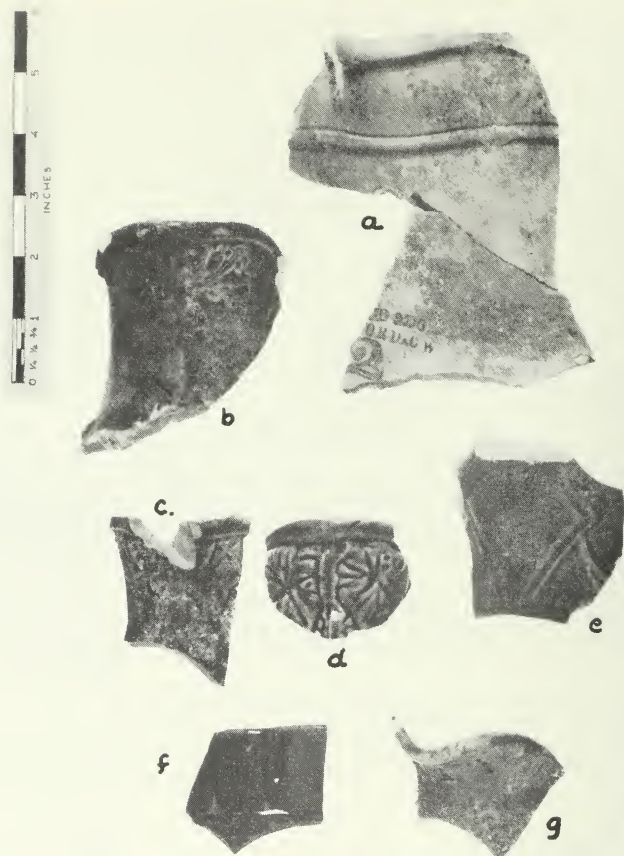


Fig. 49 Pitcher lip sherds, not numerous in any form, represent:  
**a** wheel-turned, salt-glazed, two-gallon, with *Welding* mark. This pitcher type was common to all stoneware potteries.  
**b, c** slip-cast Rockingham-glazed, probably fig. 48, b.  
**d** slip-cast, not correlated, possible variant of b and c.  
**e** slip-cast, brown slip-washed probably fig. 48, c.  
**f** slip-cast, Rockingham-glazed with high overglaze, probably post-1883.  
**g** slip-cast, Rockingham-glazed, fig. 49, a.





Fig. 50 This unmarked Rockingham-glazed pitcher, with a moulded pattern of strawberry flowers in relief, is an intact example of one of several pitcher types represented by quantities of unreconstructable sherds (figs. 48, b; 49, b, c, d). Extant examples of other forms have not been encountered.

Canadiana, R.O.M.

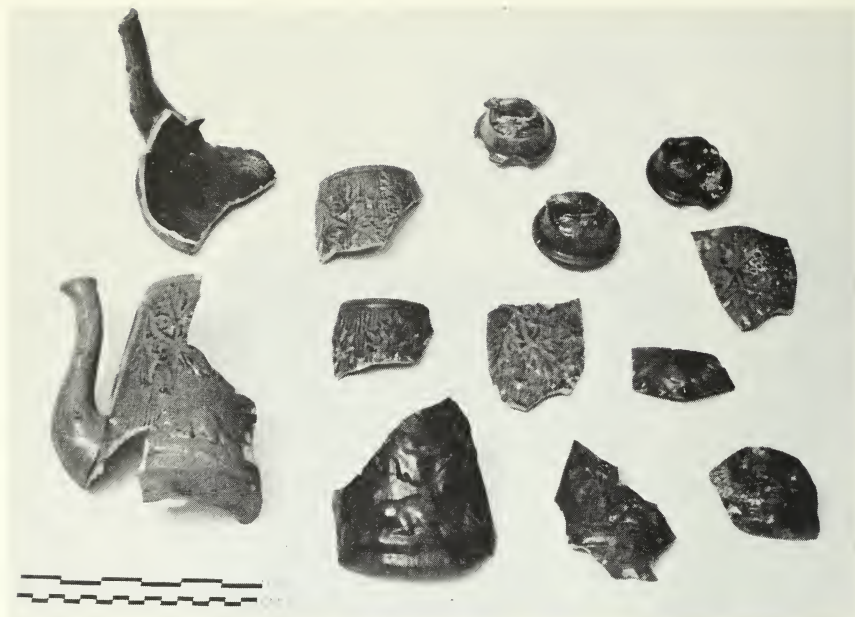


Fig. 51 *W. E. Welding in 1883 was producing two styles of slip-cast teapots, both unmarked, most importantly a Rockingham-glazed beaver and maple leaf pattern in two sizes. This was evidently in stock in quantity at the time of the 1883 fire, and sherds were extremely concentrated and compacted (Pits 4, 4a and 4b, Trench 4, Levels 2a and 2b).*





*Fig. 52 This teapot, unmarked, conforms completely to excavated sherds. The beaver and maple leaf pattern, though well-known, had not previously been dated or reliably attributed.*

*Private collection*

*Fig. 53 A variant form, the unmarked beaver and maple leaf teapot here does not conform to any excavated sherds or lids, though the piece as a whole is remarkably similar. While it could be a style of the post-1883 period, its relative heaviness and clumsiness suggest it is an earlier Welding version (c. 1875–c. 1880) and a predecessor of the excavated form.*  
*Canadiana, R.O.M.*





Fig. 54 The second slip-cast teapot current in 1883 was a panel-sided, Rockingham-glazed piece with the classic Rebecca-at-the-Well pattern. Sherd quantities suggest a production at the time of the fire of fewer Rebecca than Beaver types. Sherds and complete lids of both patterns occurred together and mixed (Trench 4, Pits 4, 4a and 4b, Level 2a and 2b).

Fig. 55 Complete examples; this teapot is the larger of two sizes, and from sherd quantities quite the most common. Private collection



Fig. 56 A smaller version (equipped with an excavated lid) from a different mould but with a pattern size identical with the larger piece (fig. 55). Private collection



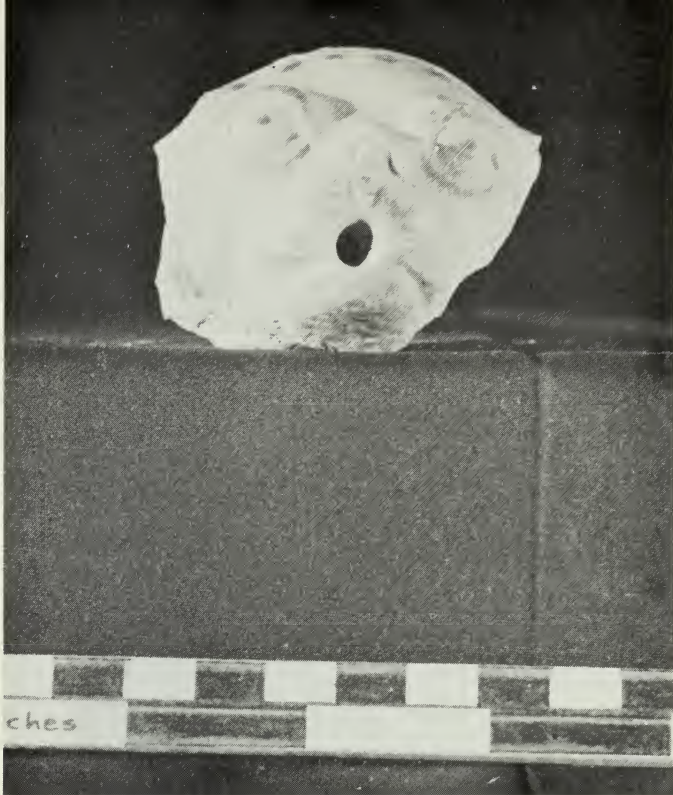


Fig. 57 The only moulded figures confirmed for the Brantford Pottery were sitting dogs, derivative of earlier Staffordshire figures. Only two sherds, both of faces, were recovered. The one shown is salt-glazed with spots of light blue underglaze (Trench 1); the other, more fragmentary, came from a different mould and was Rockingham-glazed (Trench 4, Level 2b).



Fig. 58 Moulded dogs, as well as other figures, were a standard product of most large North American stoneware potteries, and of occasional earthenware potters as well. This piece, finished in an orange-brown glaze, is reputed without cause for doubt to be a Brantford product during the late Welding period. Private collection

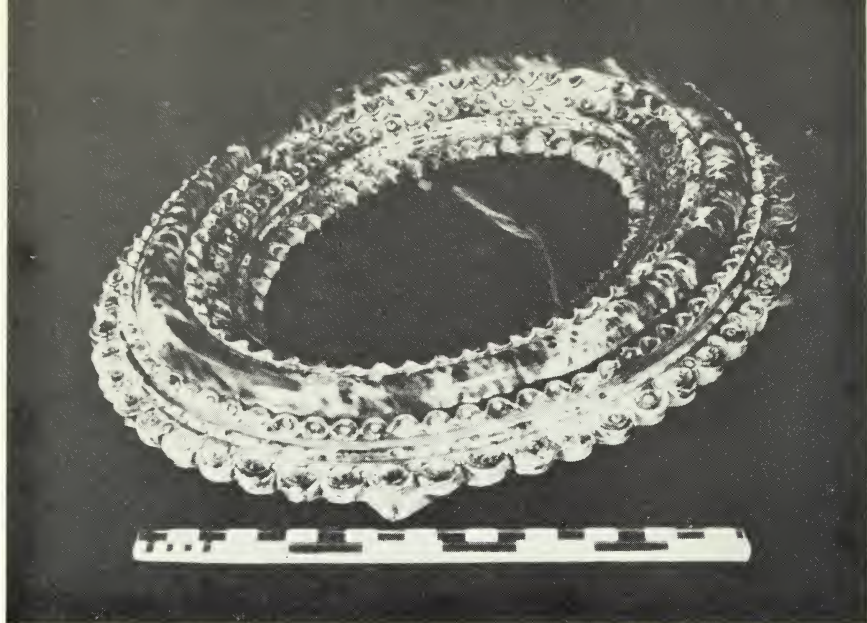


Fig. 59 *Picture-frame, moulded or slip-cast, unmarked, Rockingham-glazed. This frame, far more elaborate in pattern than excavated sherds, is probably of the post-1883 Welding period.*  
*Paris (Ont.) Free Library*

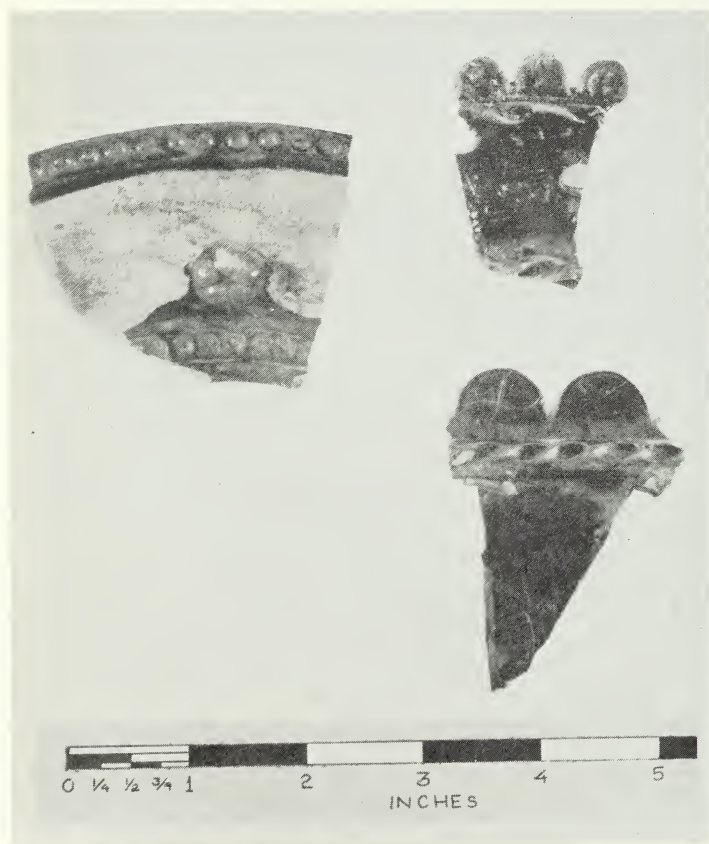


Fig. 60 *Sherds recovered (Trench 4, Levels 2a and 2b) show three basic patterns of moulded picture frames, all Rockingham-glazed and of the 1873–1883 period. The small number of sherds would indicate very limited manufacture.*



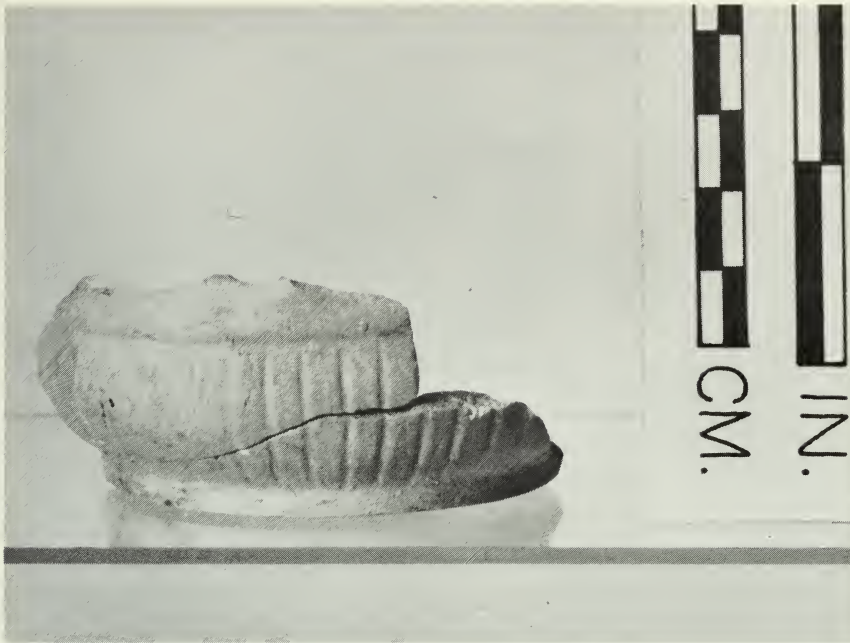


Fig. 61 *As represented by this unglazed and semi-fired base, small reeded straight-sided pitchers were in production prior to the 1883 fire. This form, most common later, is the only individual pattern known to have survived the fire.*



Fig. 62 *Pitchers identical to the unglazed base above, these are glazed in greens, blues, and red-browns, made in the late 1880s or early 1900s. None are marked. Private collection*



Fig. 63 Flowerpots, both hand-turned and machine-moulded, were recovered in several varieties (Trench 3, Level 2a and 2b, 3), the majority being integral pots and saucers. At left centre is a rim section of a jardinière, and at top centre and right centre conical base sections of hanging flowerpots.



Fig. 64 This piece, wheel-turned, is unglazed except for the rim, which was dipped in brown slip. The pot and saucer are a single unit. Welding period, c. 1875-1883.  
Private collection



## IV *Assessments and Recapitulation*

Focusing on the remains and rubble left by two destructive fires, the excavations essentially revealed the workings and products of the pottery at two precisely established moments. No analysis of recoveries alone could be construed to represent a complete and balanced view of the entire span of operation. From the overall nature of the artifacts, however, we can only conclude that fire remains in 1872 and 1883 included not only concentrations of fragmented current production and inventory, but also scatterings of items produced quite some time previously. Thus the entire scope of operation at least becomes clearly defined.

The excavation artifacts by themselves, however, in this case were hardly sufficient for any truly reliable general assessments. Since the completion of excavations, an intensive search has been carried on in private collections and among dealers for intact pieces to compare with excavated recoveries. Fortunately, many Brantford pieces are extant, and have been made available for observation and photography. Several pieces as well have been acquired for the collections in the Canadiana Department, Royal Ontario Museum. Through established dating of excavated levels and correlation of recoveries with existing pieces, and always with the benefit of a relatively complete historical and documentary picture, it has been possible to present relatively positive definitions and precise datings of various forms.

Throughout the report, references have been made to rough production quantities of different pieces based on sherd quantities. These references must be interpreted in a unit and not a comparative sense—concentrations of sherds of any particular form indicate only that that form was in heavy stock and had presumably been made shortly before one of the fires. Conversely, we can be sure that forms found only as scattered or isolated sherds were not in production and/or stock immediately prior to a fire. We cannot infer from this, however, that forms found in quantity were *ipso facto* always produced in great quantity, nor isolated forms always produced only in small numbers. Had the pottery burned in 1880 or 1886, the relative sherd quantitative picture would undoubtedly have been quite different.

For this reason, as well as the conditions under which the excavations were carried out, no statistical count or analysis was attempted. Without reconstruction of every sherd in tons of pottery, no analysis could lead to a conclusion other than that, possibly, one form on breaking fragmented into more sherds than another. Even with total collection and reconstruction, after perhaps a century of sherd-gluing, a statistical analysis could do no more than present the fact of current inventory, which in itself, without relationship, would be knowledge of little worth.

From sheer sherd tonnage, total inventory was heavy at the time of both fires, and rather greater in 1883. It was also obvious that some forms, particularly salt-glazed wares and some moulded or slip-cast pieces, were in relatively heavier stock than others at the moment of each fire.

The nature of artifacts recovered, however, indicates strongly that inventory on hand did not necessarily reflect actual production at the time of each fire. Moulded and cast wares, requiring specific machinery and mould set-ups, were probably produced periodically, until a sizable inventory was created, rather than continuously. With a maximum of fifteen employees in 1883, the number of moulded forms alone offered from inventory, to say nothing of the huge production of hand-formed salt-glazed wares, could not all have been produced on a continuing and simultaneous basis.

It is very probable that actual production at the time of the fire of 1883 was limited to those pieces of which sherds were found unglazed and semi-fired, i.e. container-wares, one-quart jugs, shell-patterned spittoons, one bowl pattern, reeded-based pitchers, and press-moulded pans and plates. Some greenwares, perhaps even other patterns, undoubtedly went through the fire unscathed and were reduced to lumps of raw clay (of which quantities were found) by firemen's hoses or the next rain.

Of the moulded and cast wares in particular, the heavy stock of finished pottery could represent in some cases an inventory of several months' duration and perhaps, in cases of slow-selling wares, of several years. In the absence of any company records, this cannot be established.

Only a few artifacts other than pottery were found in the excavations. These included some general hand tools, some non-Brantford ceramics (largely imported English whitewares), much of a badly broken cast-iron heating stove, quantities of iron cut nails of various sizes, and two clay pipe bowls of the mid-19th century—all exactly what might have been expected. There was no indication of iron machinery or equipment, even to the extent of basic power transmission arrangements: shafts, gears and pulleys. There seems little doubt that such heavy iron machinery must have been recovered and salvaged, for it would certainly not be badly damaged by fire. Other equipment, potters' wheels, clay mixing and refining tubs, and potters' hand tools, would have been largely wooden, while plaster-of-Paris moulds certainly disintegrated. Thus the lack of discovery of productive equipment was not at all surprising.

Because the site was surfaced after the fire of 1883, and more recently the original creek bed (the probable pottery dump) had been deeply earth-filled, the excavations could establish nothing of the operations or products of the pottery after 1883. Occasional isolated shreds, primarily of moulded or slip-cast green- or blue-glazed wares, were recovered from the surface level in areas excavated by contractors, but nothing which added substantially to information from extant pieces. For purposes of completing the overall picture, therefore, the period of 1884–1906 has been examined largely, and certainly incompletely, from the aspect of existing specimens of pottery.

## V *The Pottery after 1883*

Following the completion of the third and final pottery building in 1884, W. E. Welding operated as sole proprietor until 1894, when he sold the business and physical plant to the Lowrey-Hemphill-Schuler joint-stock company, and the pottery came essentially under the administration of Henry Schuler.

That the operation during the ten-year period 1884–1894 grew in size and volume is established, but the nature of Welding's products, other than salt-glazed container wares, is only superficially known. We can certainly conclude that, given an unchanged market, salt-glazed wares, most marked W. E. WELDING as earlier, continued to comprise a great part of total production until 1894. After 1894 the same types and forms remained in continual production without apparent change, the usual marking now B.S. MFG. CO. LTD. / BRANTFORD, until the closing of the pottery. The salt-glazed wares are not in question.

We cannot be sure, however, whether after 1883 Welding continued manufacture of the same moulded and slip cast wares as before, but indications are that he did not. From the known extent of the fire, and excavation evidence, it seems certain that most if not all moulds and patterns were destroyed in the blaze; plaster of Paris would not survive fire and water. Identical new moulds could have been made, but probably only with difficulty.

In the period before 1883 no form or pattern of the household wares had been marked. Many obviously post-1883 pieces are known, however, marked BRANTFORD / CANADA on the base. Most are stylistically very much of the 1885–1910 period, many with green or blue glazes. None of the forms or patterns found bearing this marking, of many dozens examined, coincide in any way with recoveries from the excavations. Several, including a lid identical to that on the teapot (fig. 76) are pieces, or identical to pieces, still owned by the Schuler family in Brantford and known to have been made during the period of Henry Schuler's association with the pottery (c. 1885–1907).

Though there is always the possibility that the BRANTFORD / CANADA mark was used as early as the 1880s, there is no real evidence for assigning it to Welding's proprietorship at any period, particularly considering his earlier practice of never marking. (And, individualist that he obviously was, why would he not have used his own name?) Conversely, from the number of extant marked and stylistically late pieces (particularly figs. 75–78), there seems considerable support for an assumption that BRANTFORD / CANADA was instead the mark for moulded and cast wares only of the Brantford Stoneware Manufacturing Co., Ltd., after 1894.

Moulded patterns are something else again. Only one slip-cast patterned form is known to have survived the fire of 1883 (figs. 61, 62); it was found in the excavations and is known to have been produced into the post-1894 period. No other extant pieces of pre-1883 patterns have been found that can be ascribed to the later period, nor have any been seen glazed with the



greens and blues that later came into general use. It would seem, therefore, that after 1883 Welding, perhaps with a few exceptions, largely abandoned his earlier patterns and instead developed new forms, many of which continued in production into the era of the joint-stock company. Henry Schuler, who was in the pottery in 1885 and assumed control in 1894, may perhaps have been responsible for some of the new styles.

Conforming to the tastes of the period, new glaze colours were introduced: cobalt-oxide blues, copper-oxide greens, iron-oxide dark reds, and lead-oxide transparent high glosses. The earlier Rockingham and yellow glazes were still used on many forms, but the new glazes added a variety that had earlier been lacking.

In the absence of company documents or excavation recoveries, we can only view the period after 1883 as a continuous unit. The change of control in 1894, given management and employee continuity, probably did not signal any abrupt product change. Rather, earlier items were carried over. From a present view, always subject to new information, the introduction of the BRANTFORD / CANADA marking seems the only reasonable dividing line between the Welding and the corporate periods.

The entire 1884–1907 span of the Brantford pottery is thus still rather ill-defined. As an appendage to the primary examination of the pre-1883 period, this survey and the illustrations are included simply as an indication of the direction the pottery took in its final quarter-century, and as a sampling, to which many more pieces could undoubtedly be added, of its products.

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Fig. 65 *The Brantford Stoneware Manufacturing Co., Ltd., as it appeared in 1895. This plant was completed in 1884 by W. E. Welding, as the third pottery building, after the fire of 1883. It was essentially built on, but greatly expanded beyond, the foundations of the earlier factory. The building, considerably altered, was demolished in December, 1966.*



Fig. 66 *Unlike cast and moulded wares, the purely utilitarian salt-glazed stoneware did not change with shifts and trends in popular taste. In later periods blue-glazed decorations were largely eliminated, applied only to small numbers of pieces, but shapes and forms universally established in the 1850s and 1860s remained relatively constant. This six-gallon butter churn, with floral decoration in cobalt-oxide blue, is marked B.S. MFG. CO. LTD./BRANTFORD, the pottery's final salt-glaze marking, current from 1894 to 1907. Private collection*





Fig. 67 These press-moulded, Rockingham-glazed bowls with vertical base-to-rim ribbing are each marked BRANTFORD/CANADA on the base, indicating probable post-1894 manufacture. The same pattern, unmarked, may have been produced in the 1884-1894 period.  
*Canadiana, R.O.M.*



Fig. 68 The marking BRANTFORD/CANADA, found as a glazed-over moulded impression in the bases of cast and moulded wares, is the probable housewares mark of the Brantford Stoneware Manufacturing Co.





Fig. 69 *Green-glazed cast and moulded wares, in the manner of mottled Rockingham glazes, were a late development, possibly post-1894. Both pieces of this ewer and wash-basin set are marked BRANTFORD/CANADA on the base. Canadiana, R.O.M.*



Fig. 70 *Though miniature salesman's samples were not produced in quantity, their forms are indicative of larger standard versions. This miniature bowl and covered pot, both green-glazed, are unmarked but are known patterns made primarily after 1894, and perhaps earlier under Welding. Private collection*



Fig. 71 *Green- and blue-glazed, these miniature samples are of pitchers and jardinières made by the Brantford Stoneware Manufacturing Co. (1894–1906) and are still owned by the Schuler family.*  
*Private collection*



Fig. 72 *Three slip-cast cream pitchers, these pieces are perhaps Welding products of the late 1880s or early 1890s. None are marked. All are green-, blue-, or pink-glazed. The centre piece is probably an earlier production version of the sample in fig. 71, right.*  
*Private collection*



Fig. 73 Most nineteenth century potteries made jelly and pudding moulds as basic kitchen wares. The larger yellow- and the smaller white-glazed both are in the Schuler family, and were probably made c. 1885–1895. Neither is marked.  
Private collection



Fig. 74 This press-moulded, yellow-glazed funnel, for filling large-necked containers or wooden barrels, is another unmarked Schuler-era piece, probably c. 1885–1895.  
Private collection





Fig. 75 This butter jar and plain vase are both glazed in a rich blue. Schuler family pieces, both are probably of the early 1890s or early 1900s. The vase is marked simply CANADA on the base.



Fig. 76 A late teapot with rather crude moulded relief decorations, this piece is a rich brown with glossy overglaze, and is marked BRANTFORD/CANADA. The Schuler family owns an identical lid. Earlier unmarked versions are known, identical in form but without figures or designs. Private collection



Fig. 77 A prime example of the styles of the 1890s, this slip-cast pitcher is light green above and dark below. Like the jardinière (fig. 78), it is marked BRANTFORD/CANADA, and numbers of extant pieces are known. *Canadiana, R.O.M.*



Fig. 78 In a similar style, this green-glazed jardinière shows in its indistinct pattern moulding and ungainly design a certain decline from the Welding period. *Canadiana, R.O.M.*





